OCTOBER 29, 2018

TIME

THE WAVE MAKERS

HOW THE OUTRAGED GOT ORGANIZED

by
CHARLOTTE ALTER

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Carolyn Eberly, left, and Ava Williamson, right, visit a home in South Charlotte, N.C., where they canvassed for Dan McCready, a Democrat running for Congress, on Sept. 26

Photograph by Dina Litovsky—Redux for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photo-illustration by Pablo Delcan for TIME. Stickers: Jenue; Trump: Drew Angerer—Getty Images*

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

TRUMPISM BEYOND TRUMP Several readers wrote that they were spooked by the Oct. 22 cover illustration that showed many future elections' worth of Trump lawn signs, as a metaphor for how the President's ideology will endure. Michael Morris of Hamden, Conn., called it the scariest TIME cover since "Is God Dead?" in 1966, and Michelle Szabo of Austin said she was worried Trump would consider the image an endorsement for a perpetual presidency. But Mitchell Hall of Cambridge, Mass., tweeted that the cover story by Sam Tanenhaus was an "encouraging" one. Tab Lyn Uno of Clearfield, Utah, argued that Democratic candidates would benefit from incorporating more of the economic populism that the story described into their platforms too, for they "have overlooked the importance of the white, male worker."

'Must have been TIME's Halloween issue ... The scariest cover I have ever seen!'

JOYCE DUDASH, Lorain, Ohio

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS The Oct. 22 global TIME covers featured members of the latest cohort of Next Generation Leaders—including one with the K-pop band BTS, whose legions of fans shared the image with millions of followers. Jimmy Fallon held up the cover featuring actor-activist Amandla Stenberg when he interviewed her on Oct. 10, and the French press celebrated the cover photo of soccer star Kylian Mbappé, who led France to the 2018 World Cup championship. Journalist Axel Roux joked that he should run for President of France: "#Mbappé2022."

'It was an honor and joy to work with @amandlastenberg ... Her @time has come

RUSSELL HORNSBY, who stars with Stenberg in *The Hate U Give*

NEW SOUTHERN PHOTOGRAPHY TIME.com spotlights two recently opened exhibitions—at the Ogden Museum of Southern Art in New Orleans and South Carolina's Halsey Institute of Contemporary Art at the College of Charleston—that show how contemporary photographers (like Susan Worsham, whose 2009 photo of a Richmond, Va., Marine is above) are capturing the changing American South. See more at **time.com/south-photos**

MUSIC British pop star Charli XCX recently spoke to TIME.com about her rise to fame. "The music I've made has allowed me to be who I want to be," she said. "It definitely took me time to find out who that was." Watch at **time.com/charli-xcx-video**

bonus TIME politics

Subscribe to TIME's free politics newsletter and get **exclusive news and insights from Washington,** sent straight to your inbox. For more, visit **time.com/politicsemail**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In the Brief (Oct. 22), we misspelled the surname of Nigerian presidential candidate Atiku Abubakar.

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For the Record

‘Australia should be open-minded to this, and I am open-minded to this.’

SCOTT MORRISON,
Australian Prime Minister, on moving his country’s embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, as the U.S. did earlier this year

60%

Approximate percentage of Americans of European descent whose DNA could be identifiable through genealogy sites even if they aren’t registered users, according to a study in *Science*

‘I love him to death ... Party doesn’t separate us.’

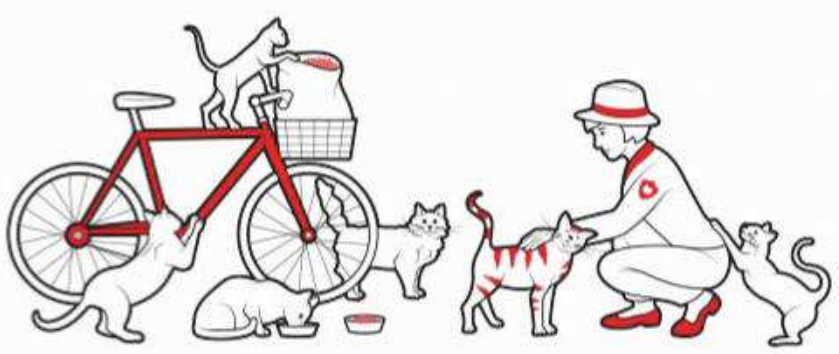
MICHELLE OBAMA,
former U.S. First Lady, on her friendship with former President George W. Bush; protocol dictates that they are often seated next to each other at official functions

‘NO LAUGHING MATTER.’

THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, GA.,
in a Facebook post, after a vandal stuck googly eyes on its statue of Revolutionary War General Nathanael Greene

‘I think one has to regard this as a victory for humanity as a whole.’

PIERRE KOMPANY,
mayor-elect of the Brussels borough of Ganshoren; a Congolese refugee who in 1975 fled a country that was once under ruthless Belgian colonial control, he will be the first black mayor in Belgium



70

Approximate number of stray cats that Svetlana Logunova cares for as the new official guardian of homeless felines in Zelenogradsk, Russia; her monthly budget for the task is about $85

$630,000

Value of the stamps a New Orleans post office manager is accused of stealing, in what authorities are calling one of the Postal Service’s largest-ever internal thefts

‘I DON’T THINK IT’S A HOAX.’

DONALD TRUMP,
U.S. President, in an Oct. 14 *60 Minutes* interview, reversing his earlier stated view on climate change; “I don’t know that it’s man-made,” he added, despite overwhelming scientific consensus that it is

American cheese
Processed-cheese sales fall as consumers seek out more natural dairy

Cream cheese
Apple adds a schmear to the bagel emoji, per users’ suggestions

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: AP; BLOOMBERG; DOJ; GUARDIAN AUSTRALIA; NEW YORK TIMES; REUTERS; USA TODAY

TheBrief

THE OLD COLLEGE TRY
A demonstrator displays placards outside a courthouse in Boston on Oct. 15

INSIDE

THE VATICAN SHOWS SMALL SIGNS OF CHANGE IN APPROACH TO ITS SEX-ABUSE CRISIS

MISS IRAQ 2015 FLEES HER COUNTRY AMID HIGH-PROFILE ATTACKS ON WOMEN

MICROSOFT CO-FOUNDER PAUL ALLEN LEAVES BEHIND A MULTIFACETED LEGACY

PHOTOGRAPH BY LIU JIE

EDUCATION

With Harvard on trial, so is affirmative action

By Katie Reilly

LONG BEFORE IT OPENED IN U.S. DISTRICT Court in Boston on Oct. 15, the trial over the use of race in Harvard University admissions had all the makings of a landmark case. In fact, the case stands to reconfigure the place of diversity in the American educational landscape.

At its center is the oft-debated subject of affirmative action in college admissions. Those policies traditionally benefit African-American and Latino students in an effort to offset centuries of racial discrimination, but the lawsuit alleges that Harvard's implementation of those ideas discriminates against Asian Americans. Harvard, which has defended its "holistic" process, says the school strives for diversity as part of its educational mission but denies that any of its practices are discriminatory.

"Harvard cannot achieve its educational goals without considering race," William Lee, an attorney for the university, said in court, according to news reports, adding that race is never considered negatively in applications.

But attorneys representing Students for Fair Admissions, the group that brought the suit, will spend the next three weeks arguing that Harvard uses what amounts to a racial-quota system, manipulating the process to "[achieve] essentially the same racial balance year over year." Their suit, which has received support from the Trump Administration, will focus on findings that Harvard assigns a lower "personal rating" score to Asian-American applicants as a group, who otherwise outperform other racial groups in academics and extracurriculars.

Asian Americans, about 6% of the U.S. population, make up nearly 23% of Harvard's most recent class of admitted students, while African-American students make up 15% and Hispanic or Latino students make up 12%. Harvard first admitted a majority of nonwhite students two years ago.

But while Harvard is, well, Harvard, it's still just one school. In his opening arguments, Adam Mortara, a lawyer representing the plaintiffs, took a narrow view of the case's implications. "This trial is about what Harvard has done and is doing to Asian-American applicants, and how far Harvard has gone in its zeal to use race in the admissions process," Mortara said in court, adding that "the future of affirmative action in college admissions is not on trial."

EXPERTS SEE IT DIFFERENTLY. For decades, courts have tended to approve of careful affirmative-action efforts. Harvard's approach won praise in the 1978 Supreme Court case *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke,* which struck down a quota-based admissions policy at the University of California but upheld affirmative action more broadly, pointing to the Cambridge, Mass., school as a good example because it considered race as a "plus." But that case and others challenging the use of race in admissions have featured white students, a notable difference from the Boston suit. Meanwhile, a newly conservative Supreme Court increases the likelihood that previous rulings upholding affirmative action could be overturned if the case makes it to the highest court.

"The current composition strongly suggests that affirmative action's days are numbered," says Justin Driver, a University of Chicago law professor whose new book *The Schoolhouse Gate* covers how courts have shaped education.

Scholars aren't the only ones who think the case could have deep ramifications. The Students for Fair Admissions group was founded by Edward Blum, a conservative activist who opposes all race-based admissions policies. Blum has brought several other cases challenging affirmative action, including *Fisher v. University of Texas,* which resulted in a 2016 ruling that the university's race-conscious admissions program was legal. He has been explicit about his goal: to end affirmative action for everyone everywhere.

"Race and ethnicity should not be a factor when a student applies to a university like Harvard or the University of North Carolina or the University of Texas, or any university," Blum said in prepared remarks at a Boston rally the day before the trial started. "In a multiracial, multiethnic nation like ours, the admissions bar cannot be raised for some races and lowered for others."

'In a multiracial, multiethnic nation like ours, the admissions bar cannot be raised for some races.'

EDWARD BLUM, conservative activist

Critics have accused Blum of "exploiting" Asian-American students in pursuit of an agenda that could, by devaluing diversity, ultimately harm them too. Surveys also show that a majority of Asian Americans support affirmative-action policies, though support among Chinese Americans decreased to 38% this year, according to APIAVote and AAPI Data.

"Race-conscious admissions is a limited tool, but it's still a tool needed to recruit and retain racially diverse student bodies," says Julie Park, an associate professor of education at the University of Maryland, who studies Asian-American students and affirmative action. Park served as a consulting expert in the case on the side of Harvard. "I think if this case or another case leads to a nationwide ban on race-conscious admissions, everyone is going to lose out, including Asian Americans."

But such a ban is just what Blum wants.

"Regardless of the outcome of this trial," Blum said at the rally, "the movement to end racial classifications and preferences in college admissions will not end." ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: XINHUA/SIPA USA; THESE PAGES: BLUM: LIU JIE—XINHUA/SIPA USA; SUSSEX: DOMINIC LIPINSKI—POOL/REUTERS

UP CLOSE AND PERSONAL Prince Harry and Meghan Markle, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, meet a koala at a Sydney zoo on Oct. 16. As the couple began a 16-day royal tour of Oceania, they announced that they are expecting their first child in spring 2019.

THE BULLETIN

Pope Francis takes faltering steps forward on church abuse crisis

AN UNUSUALLY FRANK STATEMENT FROM the Vatican announced on Oct. 13 that two retired Chilean bishops have been expelled from the priesthood for the "manifest abuse of minors." Coming only a day after Pope Francis accepted the resignation of U.S. Cardinal Donald Wuerl over mismanaging past abuse cases, the move suggested that church leaders are recognizing the seriousness of the sprawling child-sex-abuse scandal—though it remains unclear whether the Pope will take the zero-tolerance stance that victims and advocates demand.

BLAME GAME Over 100 clergy are under investigation in Chile, which has proved a weak point for Francis, the first Latin American Pope. In January, he caused an outcry by accusing victims of "slander." Francis later apologized, saying he'd made "grave errors" with that reaction. In May, after a Vatican report alleged a cover-up, all 34 active Chilean bishops offered their resignations. So far, the Pope has accepted seven.

SAVING THE CHURCH Soon after his papacy began in 2013, Francis set up a commission to "protect minors." The church has since removed several high-profile figures accused of abuse, including Washington Archbishop Theodore McCarrick. But many were disappointed when Francis praised Wuerl's "nobility" in resigning, and the commission has been criticized for toothlessness in pursuing those who ignored crimes.

AFTER THE FALL The abuse, which has also rocked Ireland, Spain, Germany and Australia in recent years, has shaken trust in the Catholic Church and contributed to its global decline in influence. (The percentage of Catholics who attend Mass at least once a week has dropped in Europe from 37% in 1980 to 20% in 2012; in the Americas, it fell from 52% to 29%.) Pope Francis has called for an extraordinary conference on the issue to be held in February. The strategy he settles on there could define his papacy and the future of the church. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Warren releases DNA test results

Massachusetts Democratic Senator Elizabeth Warren on Oct. 15 released the results of a DNA test showing she has a **Native American ancestor "6–10 generations ago."** President Trump has repeatedly mocked her claims of Native American heritage; she tweeted that the test was a response to his "racism."

China says its Muslim camps are 'humane'

China broke its silence on Oct. 16 on the indoctrination camps where **an estimated 1 million minority Uighur Muslims are being detained.** China said the camps are a "humane" part of a "deradicalization" and education program, contrary to their characterization by groups like Amnesty International.

Washington ends capital punishment

Washington's supreme court struck down the state's death penalty on Oct. 11, **citing evidence of racial bias in its use.** Washington is the 20th U.S. state to abolish capital punishment and the third to do so partly on the basis of evidence of racial disparities.

NEWS TICKER

Yemen faces worst famine in 100 years

Up to **13 million civilians in Yemen could be at risk of starvation in the next three months** if the war there is not halted, according to the U.N. A famine of that scale would be the world's worst in 100 years. The war, supported by the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, has claimed tens of thousands of lives since it began in 2015.

Hackers attack North Carolina water utility

Hackers perpetrated **a ransomware attack on the Onslow Water and Sewer Authority in Jacksonville, N.C.,** the utility revealed Oct. 15, 11 days after it began experiencing problems. Officials said the water supply was not in danger. The area is still recovering from Hurricane Florence.

Do your chores, Assange told

The government of Ecuador has ordered WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange, who has been holed up in its London embassy since 2012, to **clean the bathroom and take better care of his cat.** He must also avoid talking about political issues if he wants to keep his Internet privileges, which were recently restored after months of restrictions.

GOOD QUESTION

Why did a former Miss Iraq flee her country?

IT WAS THE LAST THURSDAY IN SEPTEMBER when 22-year-old social-media icon Tara Fares was gunned down in Baghdad. It was a Thursday in August when a well-known beautician was found dead in her home, and the Thursday before that when a plastic surgeon nicknamed Iraq's Barbie died in mysterious circumstances. Then a former Miss Iraq, Shimaa Qasim Abdulrahman, was told she too would become one of the so-called Thursday victims.

The terrified pageant queen, who won the title in 2015, says she has repeatedly received threats from ISIS members. But it was the brazen assassination of Fares and a chilling warning—"you're next"—that impelled Qasim into exile in Jordan to escape the fate of women "being slaughtered like chickens."

"They killed many people in broad daylight. I couldn't wait to be killed and then say, 'Oh, that was a serious threat?'" she told the Kurdish news site Rudaw on Oct. 8.

Qasim joins a number of prominent Iraqi women, including Instagram star Israa al-Obaidi and activist Yanar Mohammed, who are seeking safety abroad.

The series of deaths and threats of continued violence have not only sent shock waves through Iraq; they have also sparked fears of a coordinated campaign against women who dare to speak out and defy gender norms. "The attacks on women were not singular incidents," Mohammed told German media from the airport moments before she fled Iraq. "The killings have been done against women who reveal their bodies, who reveal their faces, are outspoken on women's rights—women who did not submit to conventional Islamic ways."

Hanaa Edwar, head of the Iraqi Women Network, tells TIME that even if the killings were not carried out by the same group, "they are linked in their extremist approach and in their thinking that they don't want women in the public sphere."

Iraqi women once enjoyed some of the most progressive laws in the Arab region. But since 2003, activists have noted a deterioration of women's rights. After the U.S.-led coalition toppled Saddam Hussein's regime, extremist militias flourished. As Iraq this month establishes its new cabinet, nearly five months after national elections, Edwar says the militias want to emphasize that "safety and security is in their hands and not the government's."

Outgoing Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi has blamed the "well-planned kidnappings and killings" on unspecified organized groups trying to destabilize the government, though no group has claimed responsibility. Edwar agrees that some factions benefit from instability but says those responsible have another goal too—one that's been tragically steady.

"They want to send the message," she says, "that women should stay away from political life."

—LAIGNEE BARRON

ALCOHOL

Lavish liquor

In auctions on Oct. 13, five bottles of wine sold for nearly $2 million in total; each joined the ranks of the priciest bottles in history. Here, more record-breaking booze. —*Precious Adesina*

WEALTHY WHISKEY
October also smashed the record for a bottle of whiskey, when a private collector in Asia who bid by phone snatched up a 60-year-old Macallan Valerio Adami 1926, sold by Bonhams, for over $1.1 million.

COSTLY COGNAC
A London bar sold a shot of cognac for over $14,000 on March 21; it was the first to be poured from a 124-year-old bottle distilled by French cognac house Jean Fillioux and discovered in its cellar in 2004.

VALUABLE VODKA
A bottle of vodka touted as the world's most expensive—worth $1.3 million, with a diamond-encrusted cap—was found empty at a construction site after it was stolen from a Copenhagen bar on Jan. 2.

DIED
William Coors, a grandson of the founder of the Coors brewery, at 102, on Oct. 13. A longtime leader of his family's company, he was an outspoken proponent of conservatism.

BEGUN
Legal marijuana sales in Canada, on Oct. 17. Canada became the second country where pot is legal nationally, after Uruguay.

ARRIVED
Pastor Andrew Brunson on U.S. soil, **after two years' imprisonment in Turkey on terrorism charges,** on Oct. 13. Brunson later met with President Trump.

CONVENED
A World Health Organization meeting on **Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo,** on Oct. 17; the group decided not to designate the ongoing outbreak an emergency of global concern.

CHANGED
The name of the Indian city Allahabad to Prayagraj, **which has Hindu associations rather than Muslim ones,** by its state's Hindu-nationalist leaders, on Oct. 16.

CONFIRMED
Sixty-two U.S. cases of **a rare polio-like illness** called acute flaccid myelitis this year, by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, on Oct. 16.

PUBLISHED
A study showing that **climate change may make beer more expensive,** in the journal *Nature Plants,* on Oct. 15.

WINE: FABRICE COFFRINI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ALLEN: JOSHUA BRIGHT—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; SEARS: HOUSTON CHRONICLE/AP

Allen at his New York City home on Oct. 15, 2015

DIED

Paul Allen
Influential intellect

By Bill Gates

EVEN WHEN WE WERE IN HIGH SCHOOL, PAUL ALLEN COULD see that computers would change the world. Paul—who died on Oct. 15 at 65 of complications from non-Hodgkin's lymphoma—was instrumental in creating and building Microsoft, which we launched together in 1975. But the interests and knowledge he loved to share with those around him reached far beyond computing.

Paul loved sailing, science, sports, making music and exploring the world. His generosity was as wide-ranging as his curiosity—he was passionate about ending elephant poaching, building smart cities and accelerating brain research. His impact was felt most strongly in Seattle. Paul loved our hometown. He helped build homeless shelters and promoted arts education. He established one of the neatest museums I've seen, the Museum of Pop Culture, and helped make sure his beloved sports teams stayed in the Pacific Northwest by purchasing the NBA's Portland Trail Blazers and, later, the NFL's Seattle Seahawks. The world will remember Paul as a technologist and philanthropist whose passion touched millions of lives. But when I remember him, it will also be as a man who held his family and friends dear. I will miss him.

Gates is an entrepreneur and philanthropist and a co-founder of Microsoft. He is a co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

DECLARED

Bankruptcy for Sears
The store that shaped an era

WHEN RICHARD W. SEARS started a mail-order catalog business in 1888 with Alvah C. Roebuck, it sold only watches and jewelry. More than 150 years later, their time has stopped, for now at least: on Oct. 15, Sears, once America's top retailer, filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection.

The catalog, which TIME once called "America's family album," launched during the golden age of railroads. That technology helped Sears provide customers with goods ranging from appliances to clothing—and, at one point, 35 lb. of gumdrops for $1.65. As cities and chains grew, Sears again took advantage of the changes, opening its first store, in Chicago, in 1925. As the economy boomed after World War II, so did Sears, which had more than 700 locations by the mid-1950s.

But nimble competition emerged. Sears started to lose market share to lower-cost retailers and failed to anticipate the '90s dotcom boom—and the attendant return to shopping by mail. Its last catalog was issued in 1993, and now analysts say it just can't compete with Amazon. The company that once sold practically everything may be left selling practically everything.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

Provocateur **Stormy Daniels** takes an unexpected turn in the national spotlight

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IT MEANS TO BE FAMOUS like Stormy Daniels, for the reasons she is famous, spend time with her in a public space. She walks quickly, her head down, blending in with the neighborhood moms at an upscale Manhattan mall—petite, hardly noticeable in jeans, sneakers and a gray, long-sleeved T-shirt. But her anonymity is deliberate. She avoids eye contact, folding into herself as if pressing into a fierce wind.

Once inside the shelter of a photo studio, she unfurls, becoming yet again the woman we know from the media: wry, unflinching and lightning quick with a snarky retort. It has been an incendiary year. On Oct. 15, a California judge threw out the defamation case she filed against Donald Trump. Her other lawsuit against the President, over a nondisclosure agreement (NDA) that forbade her to talk about their alleged 2006 affair, continues to wend its way through the court system.

Over the past year, Daniels, 39, has become the Zelig of White House scandals. Her NDA, in which she and Trump were both referred to by pseudonyms, was first reported in January, and in August, the President's former personal lawyer Michael Cohen admitted to working with Trump to pay her $130,000 in hush money. A day later, Trump reversed his previous story, saying he'd known about the deal with Daniels and paid Cohen back himself.

And while the saga has barely ruffled the President's poll numbers, it has transformed Daniels' life, making her simultaneously a target of vitriol and a hero for feminists, depending on which side of the Trump divide you're on. "Who would have thought that 90 seconds with Donald Trump would turn into 90% of my life?" she asks.

Lost somewhere in all this is the story of a girl who grew up in Baton Rouge, La., deep in what is now Trump country. The childhood she describes in her new memoir, *Full Disclosure,* a New York *Times* best-seller, was marked by resilience in the face of deprivation, neglect and sexual abuse. She was a smart kid who got A's at the local magnet school but went home to a house that had rats and roaches and not enough to eat. She writes that she has already beaten the odds because, by all accounts, she should be "living in a trailer with no teeth." As with a lot of people who grew up without resources, her unease about money lingered long after she didn't have to worry about her next meal: "It used to be that a hunger pang would create panic," she says.

For those reasons and more, Daniels defends using her current spotlight to her advantage, stacking up paid performances and unpaid interviews, in the name of building her brand. "I'm doing the same thing I've always done," she says. "But if you drive an ice cream truck and the city has a heat wave, you'd be an idiot not to drive your ice cream truck." Almost nothing makes her angrier these days than being called a "retired" porn star, as several reporters have done, as if the revelation of l'affaire Trump offered her a comeback. She points out that the story about her NDA broke last January, and weeks later, she was nominated in multiple categories at the Adult Video News awards for her previous work. "How is that retired?" she says.

BUT HER NEW PERCH in the global limelight has taken a toll she couldn't have foreseen nearly two years ago, when lawyer Michael Avenatti offered to help her challenge her NDA. There has been the wave of death threats and the sudden need for bodyguards. But worse, there was the repeated publication of her given name, annihilating the already flimsy wall of privacy between her profession and her home life. (TIME has published Daniels' legal name in the past, and it is readily available online.) She worked for years to escape the instability of her youth, to build a career, however unorthodox, to create a home in Texas and buy horses and teach her 8-year-old daughter to ride. And now that life has been overturned, perhaps permanently. She shields the girl from the news—no TV, no radio—but there's inevitably a limit to how long she can protect her.

Daniels grieves over the way her sudden fame has affected the people in her life, even near strangers, like the two young women who were arrested with her at a Ohio strip club in July. It was a controversial raid that Daniels insists was politically motivated and that Columbus police chief Kim Jacobs later admitted was a mistake. (Charges involving touching patrons were later dropped.) But the damage was done, Daniels says, not so much to her as to the other two women. "Those girls' lives are ruined because their mug shots and real names are printed in the paper, and printed in a story that has my name in it," she says. "So they're forever attached to the 'dirty porn star.'"

Perhaps most painful, Daniels says, is that her marriage has not withstood the drama that her life has become. That alleged encounter in a hotel with Trump happened years before she and her husband began dating around 2010, but Daniels says she never told him. Instead, he found out on the news. "If I could do it over, I would have tried harder to find an appropriate time to tell my husband," she says. (Her husband filed for divorce in July.)

DANIELS QUICK FACTS

Serious equestrian
Daniels began riding horses as a girl and has continued to compete into adulthood, occasionally on a horse named Ziggy Star Rocker.

Hollywood veteran
While best known for her adult films, Daniels has appeared in mainstream flicks like *The 40-Year-Old Virgin* and *Knocked Up.*

Behind the camera
Daniels, who writes many of her own scripts, is a rare female director in the adult-film industry.

HEATHER STEN FOR TIME

IN HER BOOK, Daniels makes the case that she is a lot more than that one encounter with a reality-TV star. But when I ask if she worries she'll share the fate of Monica Lewinsky, who struggled for decades to escape the shadow of a relationship with a President, the answer is yes. "I'd like to be remembered for being a fair and good leader" of her film-production crew, she says. "But let's face it, I'm going to be known as the porn star who slept with Donald Trump." That reputation, she fears, will not only define her; it will likely preclude any other romantic relationship. Any future partner would "be teased and tortured relentlessly," she says.

It's a profoundly sad revelation, complicated in part by Daniels' unflappable resolve. She does not regret coming forward, she insists. She does not regret "telling the truth." But the fallout has lasted longer than she ever expected. When her defamation suit was tossed out, Trump attacked her on Twitter, going after her looks, as he often does with female foes. "Great, now I can go after Horseface and her 3rd rate lawyer in the Great State of Texas," he wrote, referring to her ongoing lawsuit. Daniels responded quickly and in kind: "Game on, Tiny." Though powerless in any traditional sense, Daniels is clearly no shrinking violet. Label her a whore and she just laughs, impervious to shaming. "That's *rich* whore," she counters, thankyouverymuch.

'Who would have thought that 90 seconds would turn into 90% of my life?'

STORMY DANIELS

I ask if the omnipresent Avenatti is using her to build his career and a possible presidential bid. "If he runs for President, I'm going to run against him," she jokes. But no, he's not exploiting her, she insists. If anything, it's the other way around. "I've paid him all of $20, though he doesn't like me telling anyone that," she says, laughing. "If he wasn't already bald, he would be bald by now because of me." (And no, she says, there's nothing between them.)

In mid-October, Daniels flew to Berlin to continue her book tour. Inevitably she will be asked about the President and his private parts. She'll answer gamely, pushing her memoir, punching above her weight, and then pack up for the next city. It's a bargain she made willingly, even if she didn't quite know the price. So there's nothing to do but to keep moving, head down, not knowing exactly what her life will look like when the winds let up. ◻

Damage assessment

A search-and-rescue team walks past a pile of debris in Mexico Beach, Fla., on Oct. 12, two days after Hurricane Michael made landfall in the Florida panhandle as one of the most powerful storms ever to hit the U.S. mainland. The coastal city had been under mandatory evacuation orders, but state officials said roughly 280 people, about a quarter of its population, chose to stay; at least two people were killed there, out of at least 29 deaths in total. Days later several remained missing, even as the city prepared to begin allowing residents to return.

Photograph by David Goldman—AP/Shutterstock

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TheView

POLITICS

TAKING BACK THE VOTE

By Eric Holder

When students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, the largest historically black public college in the country, go to vote this fall, half of them will be voting in the state's Sixth Congressional District and the other half will be voting in the 13th Congressional District.

INSIDE

CHANGING THE WAY HOLLYWOOD MAKES HEROES

WHAT JAPAN THINKS OF THE U.S.-CHINA TRADE WAR

THE SAD TRUTHS OF A NEW SMARTPHONE

A woman votes on Nov. 8, 2016, in Durham, N.C.

SARA D. DAVIS—GETTY IMAGES

If a student moves from one campus dorm to another, they could be forced to register to vote in a completely different congressional district.

Until 2016, the school's predominantly African-American student body voted in the state's 12th Congressional District. But after federal courts found that Republicans had illegally divvied up North Carolina's congressional map by race—including in the 12th District—to help ensure that the party would have far greater power than its voter support would merit, Republican state legislators crafted a new congressional map based on partisanship instead. One result of their effort was to divide the North Carolina A&T campus in half, cracking the school community and leaving the students with diminished voting power.

While Republicans in North Carolina have been particularly brazen—one state representative even admitted that in 2016 they drew themselves into a 10-3 majority in the congressional delegation because they were simply unable to create a map with 11 Republican seats—their attempts to suppress the vote are part of a much larger national effort. While literacy tests, the poll tax and Jim Crow are now of a bygone era, new methods have been enacted to facilitate discrimination and voter disenfranchisement. In many places, Republicans have fundamentally changed the electoral system in a way that undermines the principle of "one person, one vote."

THERE HAVE BEEN two defining moments in these efforts. The first came after Republicans gained majority power at the state and local level during the 2010 midterms. In the 2011 reapportionment of seats, the GOP locked themselves into power through unprecedented gerrymandering, the practice of drawing absurdly shaped voting districts for the sake of outsize political advantage. This happens often through a combination of consolidating—or packing—the opposition's voters into a minimal number of districts when possible or otherwise widely distributing—or cracking—them so that candidates supported by these voters can be more easily defeated.

In June, the Supreme Court mistakenly declined to rule on two major relevant cases. One was in Wisconsin, where Republicans drew laughable maps—but the other was in Maryland, where Democrats ensured that seven of the state's eight congressional seats went to that party, in a state that in 2014 elected a Republican governor. There is a history of both parties using gerrymandering to their advantage, but recent inappropriate redistricting efforts have by far been the creation of Republicans. And the impacts of their efforts have been profound and enduring.

In 2012, Democrats won 1.37 million more votes than Republicans in U.S. House of Representatives races—but Republicans won a 33-seat majority. The same kinds of results have occurred at the state legislative level. Just last year in Virginia, Democrats won 54% of the statewide vote in races for the house of delegates, but Republicans still maintained a one-seat majority in the chamber.

While I'm confident there will be a blue wave in the upcoming midterms, I'm concerned that it will be weakened by a gerrymandered Republican seawall. Some research shows that Democrats will have to win the national popular vote by up to 11 percentage points just to win back a slim majority in the House of Representatives.

This weakens our democracy. It makes some voters' ballots more powerful than others. And by eliminating truly competitive elections, it encourages politicians to vote for laws that put the interests of a few before the well-being of all, with no electoral consequence.

THE SECOND defining moment was the fallout from the Supreme Court's 2013 *Shelby County* decision, which, under me, the Justice Department opposed. The decision was centered around a key element of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which made more difficult the enactment of discriminatory state laws or practices that sought to disenfranchise voters of color. The act was largely responsible for minimizing racially based voter discrimination in substantial parts of the country. Under the law, jurisdictions with a history of discriminatory behavior had to "preclear" with the U.S. Department of Justice any changes to voting laws or procedures that might affect minorities. The legislation had an astounding effect: In Mississippi, the percentage of the eligible black voter population increased from not even 7% in 1965 to nearly 60% in 1967. But in *Shelby County,* the court's conservative

members wrongly killed the preclearance process.

As Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote in her prescient dissent, "Throwing out preclearance when it has worked and is continuing to work . . . is like throwing away your umbrella in a rainstorm because you are not getting wet." Starting right after the decision, many states—including several that had been subject to preclearance—started enacting harmful and unfair election laws and procedures.

They have done so under the guise of "electoral integrity" and unfounded claims of widespread voter fraud. An individual is more likely to be struck by lightning than cast an in-person bogus ballot, the Brennan Center has reported. Yet since the 2010 elections, 24 states have instituted voter-ID laws or other unnecessary voting restrictions that suppress the vote in minority and poor communities.

It's not a coincidence that the most gerrymandered state legislatures pass some of the most restrictive voter-ID laws. In North Carolina, a federal judge found in 2016 that a pernicious voter-ID law passed by the legislature targeted African Americans with "almost surgical precision." In Wisconsin—a state Hillary Clinton lost by around 23,000 votes—a voter-ID law prevented perhaps as many as 45,000 voters from casting a ballot in 2016. In Texas, people can vote using a state-issued concealed-carry permit but not a state-issued University of Texas student ID.

THESE ATTACKS on the franchise will continue up until Election Day and beyond, unless addressed head-on. In Georgia, Brian Kemp, the secretary of state who also happens to be the Republican nominee for governor, has stalled the voter registration of more than 53,000 people, about 70% of whom are people of color, per an Associated Press analysis. His opponent is Stacey Abrams, a woman who would be the first female African American ever elected to lead a state. In North Dakota, Republicans in the state legislature passed a voter-ID law that disproportionately affects Native Americans, a voting bloc that overwhelmingly supports Democratic Senator Heidi Heitkamp, who won by just under 3,000 votes in 2012 with the help of Native Americans. On Oct. 9, the Supreme Court effectively upheld the law. In June, the court allowed the Republican secretary of state in Ohio to continue purging voters from the rolls, a practice that could become more widespread across the country if Republicans continue to hold state-level power.

While the voting-rights landscape may seem dire, there is a path forward. If Americans can build fair maps during redistricting in 2021, we can turn the tide back toward fairness and common sense in our politics and elect officials at the state level who will overturn voter-disenfranchisement laws in our country.

We can't take our democracy for granted. The system is being tested, but this is not a time for despair; it is a time for action and strength. We should never underestimate what is possible when Americans come together to fight for their most basic right—the right to vote. In the struggle for fairness, the fate of our nation is at stake. Nothing more than the fate of our nation is at stake.

Holder, who served as U.S. Attorney General from 2009 to 2015, is the chairman of the National Democratic Redistricting Committee

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

More Brexit dangers

The possibility of creating a hard border between Ireland and Northern Ireland concerns George J. Mitchell, a former U.S. Senate majority leader who chaired the nations' peace talks. Among other problems, he writes, **it could undo "the intangible but important consequence of a steep reduction in negative stereotyping and demonization."**

The pains of typecasting

Zeeko Zaki, the lead actor of CBS's *FBI,* wrote an essay describing his joy, as a Muslim American, to finally play a hero who practices Islam—and how Hollywood could create more such roles. **"As series progress, writers adapt to their actors," he writes. "But this should and can start from the beginning."**

An Internet bill of rights

U.S. Representative Ro Khanna described the 10 principles he helped devise for future laws that seek to protect our increasingly digital lives. **"There should be an understanding and trust that your privacy and data will be protected," he writes.**

THE RISK REPORT

Japan's tricky balancing act between the U.S. and China

By Ian Bremmer

DESPITE WHAT YOU may have heard from a certain U.S. President, trade wars are both difficult and hard to win. Even more difficult? Being invested in the outcome of a trade war with limited ability to affect it. Case in point: Japan, which is eyeing the unfolding trade drama between China and the U.S. with increasing concern.

According to Pew Research Center, just 24% of the Japanese population has confidence in U.S. President Donald Trump; their confidence in Chinese President Xi Jinping barely cracks double digits at 11%. But even if Japan had more faith in the principal players involved, Tokyo would have every right to be on edge. Should relations between China and the U.S. take a dramatic turn for the worse, Japan is on the sharp end of the spear. Economically, the two countries represent by far Japan's largest export markets at around 20% each. Geopolitically speaking, its proximity to China and its dependence on a U.S. whose President shows a lack of commitment to long-standing allies and treaty obligations make it vulnerable.

Should relations between China and the U.S. take a dramatic turn for the worse, Japan is on the sharp end of the spear

Japan understands this and did so long before the rest of the world caught on. It's the reason Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe jumped on the first flight to New York City following Trump's election-night victory. Even before Trump took the oath of office, Abe understood that for him, alliances are built on personal relationships and transactional exchanges, not historical ties.

So far, Abe has done as much as one can reasonably expect a Japanese leader to do to accommodate that reality. He has met with Trump more than any other world leader; when Abe visited Mar-a-Lago last spring, Trump vowed to support Japan because Abe was his "good friend." Japan has joined the U.S. and the European Union in co-sponsoring a proposal to reform the World Trade Organization to strengthen enforcement against countries that subsidize certain industries, an obvious swipe at China. And unlike the E.U., Japan has taken a much more muted approach to Trump's steel and aluminum tariffs, pushing back against them quietly while at the same time signaling to the U.S. Administration its willingness to enter into formal bilateral trade negotiations, which has long been a priority for Trump.

But Abe also understands that the current U.S. President is nothing if not mercurial, which means he needs to hedge. It's no coincidence that Japan just announced that Abe will be traveling to China on Oct. 25, his first official visit in seven years, complete with a trade delegation of 579 companies and numerous business leaders in tow. There has even been talk about the possibility of Japan's joining China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which is Beijing's answer to the Washington-based International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Under Barack Obama, the U.S. declined to join the development bank, even as European allies like France, Germany and the U.K. decided to sign up. Back then, Japan stood fast with the U.S. Now times have changed, and political calculations along with them.

Of course, the reality of Japan's precarious situation is that this hedging strategy works only so long as U.S.-China relations don't completely go off the rails. Should that happen, Japan would have little choice but to side with its close ally the U.S.—but from a position of weakness rather than one of strength. And if you don't think that matters to someone like Trump, you haven't been paying enough attention. Watch this space. Japan certainly will be. ◻

TECHNOLOGY

An anti-phone phone's real message

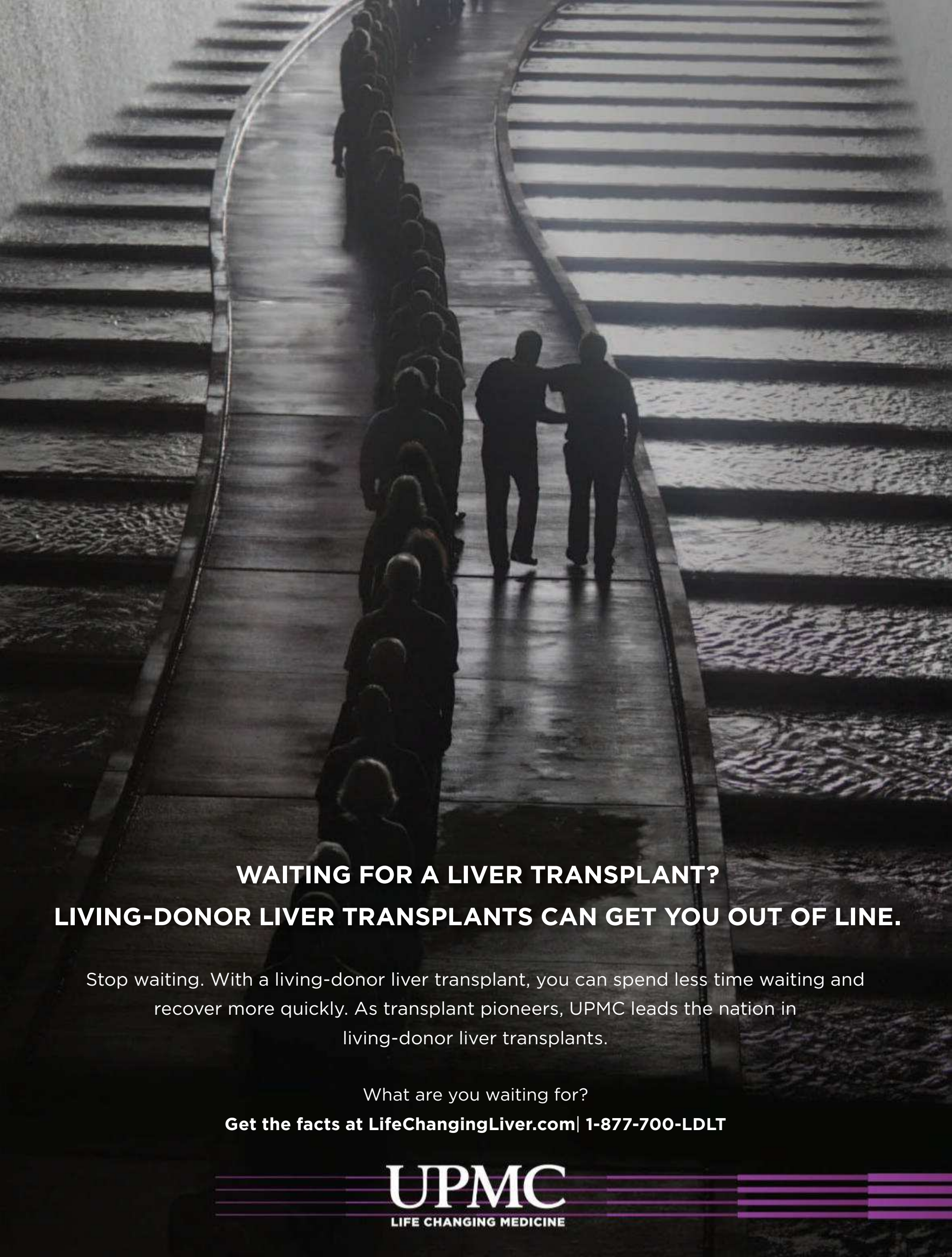
The Palm, a $349.99 mini-smartphone announced on Oct. 15 by the makers of the PalmPilot, is meant to serve as a sidekick: a shrunken, separate phone on your existing wireless plan that Palm suggests you take when on the move (especially to escape your main phone's superpowers). Instead, it reveals sad truths about smartphones today.

Companies are abandoning small phones in favor of bigger devices that don't fit everyone's hands. Even the smallest new iPhone is nearly 2 in. bigger than Apple's previously smallest offering. (Google's just-announced Pixel phones are also large.) The Palm is hardly a solution: nobody should have to pay additional hundreds of dollars, plus monthly fees, for a comfortable device.

Meanwhile, Palm claims the device can help people get "into their lives." A "life mode" disables alerts until users check the handset. While small phones may be less consuming than big ones, anyone claiming the solution to tech overload is more tech shouldn't be trusted. The answer lies not in new gadgets, but in better mastery of—and willingness to ignore—those we already own.

—Alex Fitzpatrick

PALM: ILLUSTRATION BY JON STICH FOR TIME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NORTH CAROLINA
Carolyn Eberly, center, and her Indivisible group have been knocking on doors since February

BOOTS ON THE GROUND

Inside the grassroots movement to help Democrats take back Congress

By CHARLOTTE ALTER/WAXHAW, N.C.

PHOTOGRAPH BY DINA LITOVSKY FOR TIME

PENNSYLVANIA
NextGen America fellows and volunteers are registering young voters on college campuses

CAROLYN EBERLY IS AN UNLIKELY warrior. A former chemist from Waxhaw, N.C., she works at the local library, plays volleyball and wears her blond hair pulled back in a big clip. Her husband has always followed politics, but Eberly used to steer away from it in polite conversation. She voted, but not much else.

Then came President Donald Trump's election. "I felt sick to my stomach," says Eberly, 51. She found herself at the Women's March in Charlotte, then at rallies for immigrants, then staying up all night reading news articles posted in Facebook groups. She began to feel uncomfortable around her neighbors who voted for Trump and around her volleyball friends who didn't seem to care about politics. The day after the Women's March, she saw on Facebook that a woman who lived an hour away was hosting a letter-writing party to pressure local elected officials. Eberly couldn't make it over, so the woman suggested she host her own event.

Eberly typed up an invitation. Just before she posted it on Facebook, she paused. "You ever have a premonition?" she says, sipping a smoothie at a Panera Bread near her home. "Where you think, 'This could change my life'?"

Twelve people responded to Eberly's post. Three showed up. And Indivisible N.C. District 9 was born. Since then, more than 1,000 people have joined either its Facebook group or its email list. In February 2018, long before there was a Democratic nominee in their House district, Eberly and her team began knocking on doors to build rapport with their neighbors and hear about their political priorities, a process called "deep canvassing." When a Marine veteran and solar-energy entrepreneur named Dan McCready won the Democratic primary in May, Eberly and her friends went back to the same doors they had knocked on months earlier—this time, they were armed with his campaign literature.

North Carolina's 9th District, which stretches from the Charlotte suburbs into more conservative rural areas, has been in GOP hands for more than 50 years. Trump won it by 12 points in 2016. But grassroots efforts like Eberly's have helped transform the race into a toss-up contest, according to the nonpartisan Cook Political Report. McCready has raised four times as much money as his Republican opponent, pastor Mark Harris, and he sees groups like Eberly's as key to his victory. "No dark money," McCready says, "can stop a neighbor talking to another neighbor at their door."

Indivisible N.C. 9 is just one platoon in a volunteer army that has stormed the field after Trump's election in 2016. The forces are vast and decentralized; they have different ideologies and support different kinds of candidates. But they're united by a common mission: to oppose Trump's policies, pressure their local Republican representatives and elect Democrats to replace them in the Nov. 6 midterms.

Some of these activists call themselves "the Resistance." Trump and his

GEORGIA

LaTosha Brown and Cliff Albright, front row, founded Black Voters Matter to mobilize communities across the South

allies call them an "angry mob." On the ground it's just called participatory democracy. Hundreds of thousands of volunteers, allied with thousands of autonomous groups, are doing the grunt work of propelling their neighbors to the polls, using tactics tailored to their communities. Suburban moms are knocking on doors in North Carolina battlegrounds; racial-justice organizers in Georgia are mobilizing black voters in churches and restaurants; college students in Pennsylvania are using social media to reach new voters. In Texas, immigrant-rights activists are helping Latino voters get their paperwork in order. Teenage gun-safety advocates from Florida are on bus tours to register other newly eligible voters.

The grassroots groundswell is already translating into dollars and votes. Democratic candidates have raised more than $850 million through the online fundraising platform ActBlue, more than five times as much as in the 2014 midterms. With an average donation of around $50, Democrats are trouncing Republicans in the chase for campaign cash, leading the GOP in more than 30 of the most competitive House races.

All that money is evidence of a Democratic base that seems to have risen from its stupor. Democrats cast nearly twice as many votes in the 2018 primaries as they did four years earlier, according to Pew Research Center, outpacing Republicans by more than 4 million. Eighty-one percent of Democratic-leaning voters say they are certain to vote in the midterms, up more than 20 points from 2014, according to a Washington *Post*/ABC poll. That same poll found Republican enthusiasm up 3 points.

It's not that the Democrats are being pulled left. It's more that Democrats are being pulled local. And while ideas like "Medicare for all" and "Abolish ICE" have spread far beyond the party's left flank, the anti-Trump resistance movement is ultimately more results-driven than ideological. What works for voters in the Bronx may not work for voters in Iowa, and in the midterms it doesn't have to. The party seems to be relearning the central lesson of American democracy: what 19th century French writer Alexis de Tocqueville called "the knowledge of how to combine."

If Democrats retake one or both houses of Congress in November, it will be largely because of this emerging national network of progressive organizers. But winning the midterms is just the first step, they say, in a movement designed to rebuild and transform local party infrastructure that had been hollowed out during Barack Obama's presidency. During those eight years, Democrats lost 13 governorships and nearly 900 state legislative seats, along with their majorities in both the House and Senate. State parties atrophied; local activists grew disengaged. Now these organizers are helping to build a new Democratic pipeline, nominating a historic number of women and people of color and repopulating state and local races with energetic young candidates.

The result is not only a new class of candidates to run in 2018, 2020 and beyond. It could also change the structure of the Democratic Party itself. Already, activists have forced the Democratic National Committee to overhaul its superdelegate system. All the party's old rules about who should run for which seats "have been thrown out the window," says Jane Kleeb, chair of the Nebraska Democratic Party. Advocacy groups that previously

PREVIOUS PAGES: REDUX; PENNSYLVANIA: DINA LITOVSKY—REDUX FOR TIME; GEORGIA: MELISSA GOLDEN—REDUX FOR TIME

stayed out of electoral politics are now downloading voter files and knocking on doors. "It's transforming the way we run state parties," she says. "They're coming up with new ideas that are going to help our candidates win."

ON A SWAMPY MONDAY in July, Eberly and her co-leaders are rolling up little slices of turkey and pepperoni and putting together skewers of tomato and mozzarella. It's steaming hot, and her air conditioner is broken. The midterms are more than three months away. But company is coming. Soon her platoon will drive up in their minivans, leave their shoes at the door and get to work writing postcards in support of McCready. They're drinking a special cocktail for the occasion: a champagne-and-peach-juice drink called the Im-PEACH-ment.

All the women gathered in Eberly's tidy living room have a similar story: before 2016, they were regular voters who paid sporadic attention to politics. Since Trump's election, many describe a crisis of purpose that compelled them to help Democrats win. "I'm not in the stands anymore, I'm in the fight," says Scarlett Hollingsworth, a 53-year-old IT consultant. Her son Sawyer, 18, says his mom now talks about politics when she's driving his friends home from football practice, and he hears her "cussing" on the phone to Senators and Congressmen. Hollingsworth, who has become a Democratic precinct chair, beams. "There's no other way to live now," she says. "I have to do this."

To many, the Democratic grassroots are defined by progressives like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Ayanna Pressley, candidates who beat incumbents in Democratic primaries by running to their left in liberal districts. But it's moderate suburban moms like Eberly and Hollingsworth who may drive victory for the Democrats in the midterms. In many of the 23 races Democrats have to win to flip the House, they're counting on candidates like McCready, a moderate Democrat running for an open seat, who campaigns on creating rural jobs and says he won't support Nancy Pelosi for Speaker.

Eberly's group is affiliated with Indivisible, one of the largest of dozens of grassroots networks that sprouted in the wake of Trump's election to turn outrage into political momentum. Indivisible began as a Google Doc advice manual, written shortly after the 2016 election by married couple Leah Greenberg and Ezra Levin. They based their tips for pressuring elected officials on their experience as Democratic House staffers during the rise of the Tea Party movement. They saw what worked (local organizing, in-person protests) and what didn't (screaming, calling representatives from other states), and organized it into an easy-to-use handbook. The Indivisible Guide quickly went viral: by 2017, nearly 6,000 Indivisible chapters had formed around the country—at least two in every congressional district.

Greenberg and Levin run Indivisible's social-welfare nonprofit, which provides canvassing and phone-banking tools to groups around the country. But local organizers call the shots. Some groups use the Indivisible guide as a blueprint but don't use the Indivisible name, like N.J. 11th for Change, which knocked on nearly 15,000 doors for former helicopter pilot Mikie Sherrill, now the front runner in a suburban New Jersey district where the Republican incumbent retired. Others use some Indivisible tips but affiliate more closely with different grassroots organizations, like Swing Left, which raises money to oppose GOP incumbents, or Our Revolution, which works to elect Bernie Sanders–style progressives. It's all up to grassroots leaders like Eberly. "Fundamentally, we want to allow flexibility," says Greenberg. "We've embraced a more-the-merrier, all-of-the-above approach."

The resemblance to the Tea Party is more than just tactical. Members of the anti-Trump resistance say they are motivated by a sense of fear and dispossession that echoes the rhetoric of Tea Party conservatives in 2009 and 2010. "I want my country back," says Gordie Cherry, 68, a retired marketing-business owner sitting in Eberly's living room. Brendan Steinhauser, a conservative strategist who helped organize the original Tea Party marches in 2009, says the parallels are easy to spot. "It's similar in the energy, the enthusiasm, and that they're motivated by fear and loathing," he says. "I think it's real, it's big, and Democrats are more motivated than they have been in the past. I'm sounding the alarms."

There are also big differences. Theda Skocpol, a Harvard sociologist who wrote a book about the Tea Party and has spent the past year studying Indivisible groups in swing states, found that while most Tea Party groups were led by men or by men and women, Indivisible groups mostly have all-female leadership teams, and at least 70% of its members are women. The Tea Party had a narrow set of ideological principles, while today's liberal Democratic grassroots spans a spectrum. Perhaps most important, the resistance to Trump isn't necessarily of the left.

A PARTY REVITALIZED

$850M
Amount raised for Democratic candidates through ActBlue's online fundraising, more than five times its 2014 haul on that platform

20.4M
Votes cast in the 2018 Democratic primaries, nearly twice as many as four years ago

81%
Percentage of Democratic-leaning voters who say they plan to vote in the 2018 midterms, up from 60% in 2014

SOURCES: ACTBLUE, PEW RESEARCH CENTER, WASHINGTON POST/ABC POLL (OCT. 8–11)

TEXAS
Jennifer Hernandez, right, helps her friend Kenya Loya register to vote at a Jolt event in Dallas

WILLIAM MEBANE FOR TIME

Moderate suburban moms like Eberly are just as mobilized as socialist hipsters and former Occupy Wall Street protesters. "We range from centrist Democrat to way progressive," says Abby Karp, a 58-year-old educator who organized the Swing Left group in North Carolina's 13th district. "We had somebody come to an early canvass who said, 'I am a Democrat and a progressive, and I oppose abortion 100%.' I had to take a moment and say to myself, 'We have to have room for everybody.'"

WHEN KENYA LOYA showed up at the party she'd seen mentioned on her friend Jennifer's Facebook page, she scanned the room and saw people like herself. Latino 20-somethings were playing foosball and Snapchatting pictures of graffiti scrawled on the walls of the Dallas art space. The DJ was playing Drake and Daddy Yankee, and people were grabbing free tacos and beer. Loya, a 23-year-old school secretary, had recently become a U.S. citizen. At this party, hosted by a new Latino voter-engagement group, she would become a registered voter.

Loya's friend, Jennifer Hernandez, is the president of the University of Texas at Arlington chapter of Jolt, a group dedicated to registering and mobilizing young Latinos to vote in the state. Hernandez, a 23-year-old junior, has relatives who are undocumented, and she's made voter registration her main extracurricular activity. She organizes social gatherings; goes to a local coffee shop once a week to register new voters; and spends hours standing at busy campus intersections, buttonholing fellow students on their way to class. "I ask them, 'Hey, what are you angry about today?'" she says."'What have you seen in the news that needs to be addressed?'"

When Eberly and her volunteers knock on doors, they tend to engage people who are already regular voters. Jolt is one of several grassroots groups reaching out to younger and more diverse citizens who vote less often.

Last year political strategist DeJuana Thompson, 35, realized that Democratic candidate Doug Jones had a chance to pick up a Senate seat in her home state of Alabama. She saw that the party wasn't effectively reaching out to black voters, so she started a group called Woke Vote, which has built relationships at 11 historically black colleges and 126 black churches. Thompson says Woke Vote contacted 100,000 black voters ahead of the 2017 Senate election in Alabama, helping to propel Jones' upset victory.

In 2018, Woke Vote is throwing community events, like family-friendly barbecues, near early-voting locations in states like Florida and Georgia where black voters could decide the election. "It takes more than just showing up on a door two weeks before the election," says Thompson. "You've actually got to have conversations with Mrs. Mattie on the corner who everybody knows has the best cornbread," she says, "and you've got to get Mrs. Mattie to tell everybody else who to vote for." Groups dedicated to turning out voters of color often use different techniques from those led by white suburban moms. The racial-justice organization Color of Change has held brunches, block parties and movie screenings in key areas where black voters are underrepresented, bringing together local leaders to form political allegiances. Traditional campaigns "focus on the most likely voters," says Arisha Hatch, director of the Color of Change PAC. "And these types of folks won't end up in that universe."

When organizers can't get voters of color to show up to their events, they figure out a way to meet them where they are. "We go to school lunch periods, we're in front of Target, we're at the mall," says Nse Ufot, executive director of the New Georgia Project, which has registered almost 300,000 voters of color in the state since 2014. "Peach farms, naturalization ceremonies, high school football games—you name it."

Black Voters Matter, a regional network engaging rural black communities in the South, instructs volunteers to knock on every door on the block, not just the ones on the walk list, and bring up local issues rather than stump for a particular candidate. When organizers learned that black parents in Pensacola, Fla., were angry about the lack of minority representation on local school boards, Black Voters Matter urged voters to the polls. Black turnout in the Democratic gubernatorial primary helped deliver the party's nomination to Andrew Gillum, who may become Florida's first black governor. "Once you can get them to turn out, they'll vote for Gillum," says Cliff Albright, co-founder of Black Voters Matter. "But the thing that got them to show up is those local issues."

Sometimes getting attention requires getting creative. Jolt organized a quinceañera at the Texas capitol building in Austin to protest a state immigration law, and has spent the past year hosting monthly parties featuring traditional Latin American food to register Latino students to vote. The goal is to reach people like 21-year-old Henry Aguirre, who was parked near the tacos at the Jolt party in Dallas. Aguirre didn't vote in the 2016 election. Now he's trying to atone for his apathy, registering more than 100 voters since Labor Day. "I feel like I wasn't completely living up to being an American," he says, "because I wasn't voting."

NO COLLEGE STUDENT with an active Instagram presence can resist a baby goat. So in 2017, the VoteGoat was born: social-media bait, trotted out at campuses across the country, to lure college students into conversations with political organizers. "It's like, 'Hey, pet this goat, and I'm gonna talk to you about democracy and participation,'" says Ben Wessel,

youth-vote director of NextGen America, the group founded by Democratic superdonor Tom Steyer to increase youth voter turnout. "We want our events to be Instagrammable, we want people to be tweeting what's going on, we want it to go into their friends' WhatsApp networks."

Young people are among the least reliable cohorts of voters, especially when there's not a presidential race. More than 4 out of 5 voters between ages 18 and 29 skipped the 2014 midterms. Steyer, a billionaire former hedge-fund manager and a top individual donor in each of the past two elections, is spending $33 million this year mobilizing young voters on college campuses in 11 states.

Since young people are on social media, so is NextGen. Organizers look at Snapchat's Snap Map to figure out where students are talking about politics, then buy Snapchat filters to reach them. When baby animals are the No. 1 trending topic, they create small campus petting zoos. NextGen doesn't buy TV ads ("a broadcast ad aimed at young people is money lit on fire," Wessel says) but instead advertises on Twitch, a social network where users watch one another play video games.

NextGen has recruited more than 400 "student fellows" on campuses around the country to register their classmates and get them to the polls on Election Day, on the theory that 19-year-olds are more likely to listen to their lab partner than to some grownup telling them what to do. They're paid roughly $250 a week to organize volunteers and register voters. The group says its 6,500 volunteers have registered more than 250,000 young voters across the country this year, including more than 50,000 in Florida alone.

NextGen is one of the many groups aiming to register the 8.5 million Americans who have turned 18 since the last election. The gun-safety advocates from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., and their allies spent the summer traveling the nation on their Road to Change tour. The Sunrise Movement, a youth environmental organization, mobilized young people to agitate for climate action. *Black-ish* star Yara Shahidi has started a campaign called Eighteen x 18 in hopes of making voting go viral.

In certain precincts, youth voter turnout has doubled or tripled so far this year from 2014 levels. But the gains are modest: in some places, it means primary turnout rose from single digits to double digits. Even if youth voter turnout does jump this year, it has a long way to go to match the roughly 70% of seniors who regularly show up. Still, all those baby goats and free tacos and Snapchat filters may have an impact. Research from the political-data firm TargetSmart show that youth turnout is up 4% in the 2018 primaries over four years ago, and an October poll from the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) at Tufts University found that 34% of 18-to-24-year-olds said they were "extremely" likely to vote, up 14 points from youth turnout in the 2014 elections. Among young people who have been contacted multiple times about voting, that number jumps to nearly 57%.

And when they do show up to vote, young people tend to vote for Democrats.

A NEW DEMOCRATIC INFRASTRUCTURE

70%

of Indivisible members are women, according to Harvard sociologist Theda Skocpol

299,000

Voters of color registered by the New Georgia Project since 2014

252,000

Voters under 35 registered by NextGen America in 2018

NOBODY PLANS to give up after Nov. 7. Polls show Democrats on track to retake the House, but Trump's Republicans have surprised before, and a strong GOP showing could demoralize the new progressive grassroots. Whatever happens, through, the Indivisible troops say they won't stop writing their postcards. Woke Vote and New Georgia Project are committed to reaching out to black voters. NextGen fellows may continue their political engagement even if Steyer's funding dries up. "This isn't about 2018. This isn't about 2020," says Ava Williamson, Eberly's co-leader in North Carolina. "This is about building a progressive infrastructure for an entire generation."

If they do stick with it, Democrats will be heading into a 2020 presidential election in which local grassroots organizers will have more power than ever. That, in turn, means candidates may be less focused on consultants in Washington and more focused on activists in their districts. They may care less about national endorsements and more about their neighbors' concerns. And in a very democratic way, that could change the party's priorities.

In the era of digital campaigns, where social-media impact could matter more than TV ads, unleashing a flood of small-dollar donations may replace the primacy of big donors. Strategists say this new political landscape is likely to favor a surprise contender over the D.C. creatures who have been plotting a run for years. "It's going to really advantage the candidates who know how to mobilize the grassroots," says veteran Democratic strategist Celinda Lake. "Rather than the ones who have been to every Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner."

A riled-up base can have its downsides, as Republicans learned after 2010. While the Tea Party helped the GOP sweep the midterms that year, the insurgency transformed the 2012 presidential primary into a purity test, forcing Mitt Romney to cartwheel to the far right in order to appease the party's base—a move that may well have cost him the presidency. In the years that followed, far-right members of Congress have stymied the Republicans' ability to pass broadly popular legislation, from immigration reform to government-funding bills, even when they had a majority.

Even if Democrats do win big on election night, party unity could fray as the 2020 primary gets underway. Saying one thing to voters in Georgia and another to voters in Nebraska is fine in a midterm with hundreds of races. A presidential campaign is a tougher test.

But Carolyn Eberly isn't focused on who's running for President in 2020. Instead she's got her eye on ousting North Carolina GOP Senator, Thom Tillis, who is up for re-election that year. On her list of Republicans to kick out of office, he's next.

SOURCES: SKOCPOL, NEW GEORGIA PROJECT, NEXTGEN AMERICA

Bustos works the phone at her office on Capitol Hill in May 2017

M. SCOTT MAHASKEY—POLITICO

THE MIDDLE ROAD

The Democrats' path back to power runs through the heartland

By PHILIP ELLIOTT/ROSS, OHIO

CHERI BUSTOS SHOWS HER OPPONENTS no mercy. Even in Skee-Ball.

The hypercompetitive three-term Congresswoman from northwest Illinois is walking with a fellow Democrat at a union picnic in the Cincinnati area when she spots the arcade game. "Aftab," she calls to Aftab Pureval, a former prosecutor who is looking to unseat an 11-term Republican in this southwest corner of Ohio. "How are you at Skee-Ball?" Soon both are shoving tokens into the machine. But as the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's chair of heartland engagement, Bustos is a professional multitasker. Between turns she talks about the bigger competition she's focused on now: helping House Democrats win a bloc of seats that stretches from Omaha to the Philadelphia suburbs.

Democrats have struggled in these working-class districts in recent years, but Bustos has ideas for how to win them back. First, don't lead with the controversial issues that are popular with the party's fringe. High-cost, pie-in-the-sky proposals for a guaranteed universal wage and single-payer health care can be toxic with voters who think government is already doing too much, and little of it well. "You don't go into a room starting there," Bustos says.

She knows whereof she speaks. Bustos won her 2016 re-election race by 20 percentage points in a district President Donald Trump narrowly carried. And she's quick to point out that while primary victories by far-left candidates may have captured headlines, the best pickup chances this election cycle come because moderate candidates are poised to lure Republican and moderate voters to pull the lever for Democrats. Now, as the de facto leader of a 12-state Democratic campaign, Bustos is looking to unleash the fierce urgency of centrism across America's heartland.

That's one reason she's become a campaign mentor to several of the Democratic Party's top House recruits. In Michigan, former CIA officer and Pentagon official Elissa Slotkin is within striking distance of unseating a Republican in her Lansing district. Iowa state representative Abby Finkenauer, 29, recently snagged the influential Des Moines *Register*'s endorsement, and polls suggest she's favored to become the youngest woman ever elected to Congress.

Amy McGrath, the first woman to pilot an F/A-18 on a Marine combat mission, is running strong in a conservative Kentucky district. Others, like Theresa Gasper in Dayton, Ohio, face tougher prospects, which is why Bustos spent part of an August Sunday in the district, trying to help Gasper attract voters by talking up meat-and-potatoes issues like infrastructure and military spending at nearby Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

Bustos' efforts may prove pivotal in November. Democrats could net the 23 seats they need for a majority just through the states under Bustos' purview. More important: victory is impossible without them. That means control of the House of Representatives—and all that comes with it—may hang on the pitch that the 57-year-old former newspaper reporter is delivering across the region to voters and Democratic candidates alike.

AMERICA'S HEARTLAND wasn't always painted red. There was a time when Democrats could win House races in places like Evansville, Ind.; Waterloo, Iowa; and Janesville, Wis. Yet it's gotten tougher to carry such places with a *D* after your name. The number of moderates in the House Democratic caucus has dwindled in recent years: the coalition of conservative Democrats in the House now numbers just 18. Being a Democrat in a red district requires a feel for cultural issues and a willingness to defy party orthodoxy. "When I was going into union halls when Hillary [Clinton] was running, the first question was 'Is Hillary going to take our guns?'" Bustos says as she walks through the union picnic. Bustos knows how to dispatch that question: "I have three sons. They all hunt." If that doesn't do it, she mentions that her husband is a captain with the local sheriff's department.

Beside Bustos walks Pureval, the Democratic candidate running in a district that has been represented for 11 of the past 12 terms by Republican Steve Chabot. Pureval, a 36-year-old first-generation American, has worked to prosecute federal crimes against children and represented local behemoth Procter & Gamble. In 2016, he became the first Democrat to win the Hamilton County clerk of courts job in a century. The district is gerrymandered to the GOP's advantage, but Pureval has been outraising Chabot and nipping at the incumbent's heels.

> *'The party is not going to go in the direction of Sanders-style socialism, because it's not winning on the issues and it doesn't win politically except in a very, very limited number of places.'*
>
> **JONATHAN COWAN,**
> president of the centrist think tank Third Way

Listen to Pureval chat with voters and it's clear that he's a different kind of Democrat. Asked about Trump, he says he agrees with the President on the need for infrastructure investment. Asked about the anti-Trump resistance movement, he says some people are more interested in screaming than listening—and that's not of interest to him. Asked about the odds of a Democrat's prevailing here, he notes Barack Obama twice won Hamilton County. "We can't expect change if we keep sending the same person and same leadership to Washington, D.C., year after year," he tells union members who have rented out the amusement park on this Saturday in August.

For candidates like Pureval to run this way in 2018 cuts against headlines. Progressive candidates are capturing the imagination of the party's motivated activists, especially the younger cohort. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, for instance, unseated House Democratic Caucus chair Joseph Crowley in June in New York City, triggering media coverage that suggested Ocasio-Cortez embodied the Democrats' future. The focus on the party's left-wing insurgents worries moderates, who know Republicans will use the positions of one candidate to caricature the rest. "That is not where the party is heading," Bustos says of the socialist positions favored by Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Bernie Sanders. "That fit for Queens, O.K.?" Instead, she wants candidates talking about creating jobs through infrastructure, keeping health care costs low and stamping out corruption—three unmet Trump promises.

Some of her peers feel the same way about the emerging push to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement in the wake of the Trump Administration's family-separation policy. "I understand the emotions, the moral vacuum that is involved in splitting up families," says Jim Himes, a Connecticut Democrat and the chairman of the House's 68-member moderate New Democrat Coalition. "But when you go out there and say, 'This is who we are,' you've now made life harder for the 60 or 70 Democrats fighting in districts where we need to win if we ever want to be in the majority."

To reorient the party, centrist groups like Third Way have been pushing candidates to read up on history and polling. "The party is not going to go in the direction of Sanders-style socialism, because

it's not winning on the issues and it doesn't win politically except in a very, very limited number of places," Third Way president Jonathan Cowan tells TIME. "It's going to go in the direction that won it two presidencies. The last two two-term Democratic Presidents were mainstream Democrats. [That's] what's going to get the House back."

The data supports Cowan's argument. According to an analysis of the 2018 primaries by the Brookings Institution, "establishment"-minded Democratic candidates fared better than their progressive brethren, notching 139 primary wins to the progressives' 101. When the Brookings researchers looked at where these progressives are winning, they found they tended to cluster in districts where no Democrat stands a chance in a normal year. For all of the talk of the Democratic Party's leftward lurch, when the next Congress is seated, it's unlikely the Democratic caucus will be substantially more liberal than in years past.

The same is true of some liberal policy proposals. In Colorado, a ballot measure to enact a single-payer health system failed, 79% to 21%, on the same day Clinton carried the state over Trump; in left-leaning Boulder County, it won support from just 38% of voters. Liberal Vermont, which had such a system for three years, ditched it in 2014. In California, a ballot measure regulating drug prices fell in 2016 by 8 points. A similar measure was voted down in Ohio a year later by 58 points.

To make gains beyond the House this year, moderates say, Democrats will need crossover appeal. Third Way, the centrist think tank, crunched the numbers for competitive Senate races and found reliable Republicans are more likely to vote in them this November. Just 27% of the projected electorate in battleground races was expected to be reliable Democrats. More than half the voters in West Virginia are expected to split their ticket. "If you look throughout the heartland, there's a silent majority," Bustos says, that "just wants normalcy, just wants to see that people are going to go out to Washington and fight for them in a civil way and get something done."

'Throughout the heartland, there's a silent majority that just wants normalcy, just wants to see that people are going to go out to Washington and fight for them in a civil way and get something done.'

CHERI BUSTOS,
Democratic Congresswoman from Illinois

FOR BUSTOS, the union picnic is part of a two-day tour through Ohio's battleground districts that includes stops at a bingo parlor near Cincinnati, an infrastructure panel in Dayton and a bartending shift in Columbus that doubles as an informal voter focus group. But before slinging pints of draft beer, Bustos has some time to kill and decides she wants some ice cream. During a July visit to Columbus for a Third Way summit, she discovered an Ohio-based company whose founder just happens to be a good Democrat. As she polishes off her bowl of sweet corn and blueberry ice cream, she turns the talk back to the local race she is here to check out.

In 2016, Trump won the Buckeye State's 12th district by 11 percentage points. But in August 2018, Republican Troy Balderson eked out a special-election victory here over Danny O'Connor by just 1,680 votes—a race so close it took more than two weeks after the election to determine who had won. O'Connor and Balderson have a rematch lined up in November, and this time the Republican won't have the benefit of the undivided focus and campaign cash of the entire GOP establishment.

It's clear why O'Connor is a formidable opponent in a district like this, which stretches from Columbus' north side toward Zanesville and has not elected a Democrat since 1982. Unlike some other Democratic candidates, the 31-year-old county recorder spends little time talking about Trump or appealing to hard-left activists. Instead, his campaign is designed to attract voters who may not agree with him. "You need to go anywhere at any time to talk to anyone about anything. I've knocked on doors where people are 3% likely to support a Democrat. But all of these people deserve to have their voices heard," he told TIME. "Democrats have to be willing to go to places that haven't voted Democratic for a long time or even heard from Democrats for a long time." And while he supports abortion rights and LGBT rights, O'Connor doesn't make them cornerstones of his campaign messages.

Democrats have their work cut out to win their share of races like this on Nov. 6. But the path back to the House majority runs through them. Bustos knows the numbers: four targeted pickups in Ohio; another four apiece in Minnesota, Michigan and Illinois; five in Pennsylvania. The success of her team of Midwestern moderates could shape the next two years of Donald Trump's presidency. ◻

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MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE IN HEALTH CARE

The American health care system has been plagued for decades by major problems, from lack of access to uncontrolled costs to unacceptable rates of medical errors. And yet, real as those issues remain, the field has also given rise to extraordinary innovation. This year, TIME launched the Health Care 50 to highlight the people behind those ideas: physicians, scientists, and business and political leaders whose work is transforming health care right now.

By Mandy Oaklander, Alice Park, Jamie Ducharme and Robin Marty

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ALEXANDRA COMPAIN-TISSIER FOR TIME

DIVYA NAG

Putting a doctor on your wrist

At not even 30, Nag is leading Apple's special projects focusing on health. Nag's team developed ResearchKit, an open-source app developer for doctors and researchers to share patient results and clinical data, and this fall it announced groundbreaking new tools for the Apple Watch: the Series 4 includes an emergency-response system, in case the wearer falls and doesn't respond, and a medical-grade EKG heart-rate monitor.

DR. ORRIN DEVINSKY

Revolutionizing medical marijuana

Thirty-one states have legalized medical marijuana, and in June, cannabis went even more mainstream: GW Pharmaceuticals' Epidiolex became the first FDA-approved marijuana-derived drug. The epilepsy medication was spurred by Devinsky's research at New York University proving that purified CBD, a compound in pot, can reduce patients' seizure frequency without making them high.

DR. LEANA WEN

FIGHTING THE POLITICS OF MEDICINE

As health commissioner for Baltimore, Wen has proved herself a force in the often politically fraught world of public health. In 2015, she chose a remarkably pragmatic—but unusual—method of addressing the opioid epidemic ravaging her town. With nearly 90% of overdose deaths due to opioids, she wrote a blanket, citywide prescription for the overdose-reversing drug naloxone, valid for every citizen willing to fill it. To date, her bold action is credited with saving nearly 3,000 lives. For Wen, an emergency-room physician who has administered naloxone to patients herself, it was an obvious solution to treat the disease of opioid addiction.

Now she wants to bring that same straightforward approach to her new job; Wen steps in as the new president of Planned Parenthood in November. As the first physician to lead the organization

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

in nearly 50 years, she hopes to lift the group above the politically divisive fray by reminding people that it offers necessary, and in many places desperately needed, medical services, including mammograms and infertility and incontinence treatments. "We're not here to make a political statement," she says. "We're here to provide health care to those who need us, and we will have to continue to fight to defend that access to care, because others, not us, have been distorting the work that we do."

She faces a formidable challenge in executing that mission. In June, the Trump Administration proposed changes to the federal program that provides funds to Planned Parenthood, including prohibiting the centers from referring women for abortions and restricting the types of contraception and pregnancy counseling they can offer.

'WE WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT TO DEFEND THAT ACCESS TO CARE, BECAUSE OTHERS HAVE BEEN DISTORTING THE WORK THAT WE DO.'

But Wen's personal and professional experience may give her unique advantages in Washington and beyond. After her family immigrated to the U.S. from China when she was 7, Wen learned firsthand how critical Planned Parenthood's services could be. When they struggled to make rent, her mother, sister and Wen all relied on the centers for their health needs. While she was Baltimore's health commissioner, the city joined a suit against the Trump Administration's Department of Health and Human Services when the agency cut funding to 81 teen-pregnancy-prevention programs in the country. Wen was able to win back $5 million in federal grants for the city. During her tenure, in August, Baltimore and three other cities also sued the Administration for "sabotage" of the Affordable Care Act.

Now she's ready to protect women's access to health care on a national scale. "The idea that health is a basic fundamental human right is the concept and value that I've held my entire life," she says.

MAURA HEALEY

Leading health law

As Massachusetts attorney general, Healey fought the Trump Administration's "gag rule," arguing that it limited access to reproductive health care. The Democrat also made her state the first to sue OxyContin maker Purdue Pharma for contributing to the opioid crisis.

DR. ROBERT GROSSMAN AND KENNETH LANGONE

Making med school free

New York University School of Medicine dean Grossman and trustee chair Langone announced this year that current and future students would receive free tuition beginning in August 2018.

DR. GIULIANO TESTA

Innovating fertility

In February, a second baby was born as a result of Testa's trials at Baylor University Medical Center to transplant a uterus from a living donor into a different woman. Testa is also one of the 2018 TIME 100.

BERNARD TYSON

Taking corporate health care local

Kaiser Permanente CEO Tyson aims to boost community health by investing in wellness development in ZIP codes in need. The latest success? Future Baltimore, which the Department of Housing and Urban Development recognized in July for its impact on West Baltimore's 21223 neighborhood.

BJARNE HANSEN AND GERD KVALE

SPEEDING UP THERAPY

Obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) can take months of therapy to treat. But Kvale and Hansen, who are clinical psychologists at Haukeland University Hospital in Norway, have shown they can treat it in just four days. Frustrated by the traditional model of therapy—meeting with patients just once or twice a week, with days between sessions to stall progress or give people the chance to drop out—Kvale and Hansen developed a program in which therapists help their patients learn how to deal with anxiety through marathon sessions of exposure therapy. "Patients say it's hard work and one of the most challenging weeks of their life," Kvale says. "But the change that they experience through these four days is sort of magic and life-changing." So far, about 1,200 people with OCD have gone through the intensive regimen; approximately 70% recover completely and remain in remission four years later, according to a study published in August in the journal *Cognitive Behaviour Therapy.* And very few of them quit. Kvale and Hansen's pioneering model of concentrated therapy—which the researchers are now testing for panic disorders and social anxiety—has spread to Iceland and Sweden and will soon come stateside to a private clinic in Houston.

HEALEY, TYSON: GETTY IMAGES; GROSSMAN, LANGONE: SASHA NIALLA; TESTA: REUTERS; HANSEN AND KVALE: PAUL S. AMUNDSEN

DR. ANN MCKEE

Keeping athletes safe

Since 2015, the "McKee criteria" has been the definitive diagnostic for chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), a degenerative brain disease usually found in patients with a history of repeated brain trauma, like football players. Her recent breakthrough study suggests that blows to the head themselves—not full concussions—may be the underlying cause of CTE. McKee was also named one of the 2018 TIME 100.

TONY WYSS-CORAY

Using blood as medicine

Wyss-Coray, from Stanford University, found that stitching together young and old mice to join their blood systems improved the older mice's cognition. Startups began offering unproven "fountain of youth" blood-plasma infusions, but Wyss-Coray co-founded a company, Alkahest, to scientifically test the idea in people with early Alzheimer's. Encouraged by early results, he now hopes to refine a blood-plasma treatment for aging brains.

CHIRLANE MCCRAY

Building happier cities

In 2015, McCray, the First Lady of New York City, launched ThriveNYC, a comprehensive plan to treat mental illness and substance abuse in the city, and improve general wellness. The road map included concrete ways to stem stigma, collect more data and expand mental-health services. After seeing tangible success at home, McCray's model has now spread beyond the five boroughs to 185 cities in all 50 states.

SEAN PARKER

Connecting cancer research

Parker, formerly of Napster and Facebook, knows the power of networking, so he was surprised when he found that many cancer researchers didn't collaborate. With the Parker Institute for Cancer Immunotherapy, he supports and connects the world's best cancer doctors to speed new treatments. Its work led to the first approved gene immunotherapy for blood cancers, as well as a Nobel Prize this year for immune-based cancer drugs *(see Allison and Honjo, opposite page).*

DAVID SINCLAIR

Fighting old age

Sinclair, from Harvard Medical School, is testing a pill that appears to address and even reverse some of the typical signs of aging, including higher blood pressure, weight gain and slower metabolism—at least in mice. This year Sinclair found in the animals an even more tantalizing benefit: the compound can also serve as exercise in a pill, reversing aging in blood vessels and "working out" muscles as if they had been on a treadmill. Human trials are set to start in the next year or so.

DR. RAJ PANJABI

Improving rural health care

A Harvard Medical School professor who came to the U.S. as a refugee from Liberia, Panjabi co-founded Last Mile Health to recruit and train community health workers in areas that lack local health services. Last Mile's efforts were crucial in fighting Ebola from 2014 to 2016, and now Panjabi is raising $100 million to build Community Health Academy, a mobile platform for training health care workers remotely through video and audio instruction.

KARE SCHULTZ

Giving allergy sufferers options

Years of price hikes made pharma company Mylan's anaphylaxis-reversing EpiPen the poster child of unjust drug pricing, at $608 for a two-pack. But without a generic competitor, consumers were stuck. Enter Teva Pharmaceutical CEO Schultz. In August, Teva won FDA approval for what the agency called the first generic version of the EpiPen. There's no price or market date yet, but the approval is already a win for patient choice.

AARON PERRY

Thinking outside the hospital

After noticing the black male customers at the Madison, Wis., barbershop where he got haircuts often talked about their health problems—but realizing many didn't see doctors—Perry started the Men's Health & Education Center inside the shop. Now clients can learn about high blood pressure, monitor diabetes and get flu shots with their trim. This year, a $300,000 grant from the University of Wisconsin will help him open other barbershop health centers.

LONGEVITY

NEW SCIENCE SHOWS THAT THE SECRET TO LIVING LONGER CAN BE SURPRISINGLY FUN

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

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To live longer, make your workout a playdate

By Jamie Ducharme

EXPERTS LIKE TO SAY THE BEST FORM OF EXERcise is whatever kind you'll actually do. But that may not always be the case; new research finds that people who combine exercise with their social lives may be at an advantage over solitary exercisers.

The social interaction involved in partner and team sports may compound the plentiful benefits of physical activity, adding more years to your life than solo exercise, according to a study published Sept. 4 in *Mayo Clinic Proceedings*. Tennis, badminton and soccer are all better for longevity than cycling, swimming, jogging or gym exercise, according to the research.

"For both mental and physical well-being and longevity, we're understanding that our social connections are probably the single most important feature of living a long, healthy, happy life," says study co-author Dr. James O'Keefe, a cardiologist at Saint Luke's Mid America Heart Institute. "If you're interested in exercising for health and longevity and well-being, perhaps the most important feature of your exercise regimen is that it should involve a playdate."

The study was based on data from about 8,500 adults who were part of the Copenhagen City Heart Study. They completed a comprehensive health and lifestyle questionnaire, which included questions about type and frequency of physical activity, and were monitored by the researchers for around 25 years, a period during which about 4,500 of the subjects died.

Tennis came out on top in the research. Compared with sedentary people, those who reported playing tennis as their main form of exercise could expect to add 9.7 years to their life span, followed by badminton (6.2 years), soccer (4.7 years), cycling (3.7 years), swimming (3.4 years), jogging (3.2 years), calisthenics (3.1 years) and health-club activities (1.5 years).

How long people typically spent doing these activities varied greatly—but duration didn't necessarily affect longevity benefits. Those who played tennis as their primary sport got about 520 minutes of physical activity per week and picked up the racket for about 100 of those minutes. Meanwhile, health-club exercise finished last in terms of longevity, even though gymgoers reported the most weekly activity overall: almost 600 minutes in total, about 150 of them at the gym.

'When our physical activity allows us to play, it magnifies the benefits.'

DR. JAMES O'KEEFE

THE MOUNTAIN of scientific evidence that shows exercise improves longevity is indisputable. One recent study of 6,000 participants by the Centers for

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

Disease Control and Prevention found that people who exercised the most appeared nine years younger on a cellular level than sedentary people. But now a growing amount of evidence supports a link between social interaction and good health, including recent research published in the *Lancet* that found team sports are the best physical activity for mental health. Partner sports also tend to be more enjoyable than solitary exercise, O'Keefe says, which can potentially enhance mental health and increase long-term adherence to an exercise routine. In addition, research has shown that moderate exercise tends to be as good or better for longevity than vigorous activities like running, which can take a toll on the body over time.

"When we try to just go and work out to get our heart rate up, it still feels good," O'Keefe says. "But it doesn't leave you as relaxed and happy as, say, going to play a game of basketball or golf."

Tennis likely took the top spot because "it's intensely interactive," O'Keefe says. "At every point you're talking. It's just a very natural way to emotionally bond with people, besides getting your exercise." But he adds that the study may not have been able to fully account for the fact that wealthier, better-educated people—who tend to be healthier to begin with—may be more likely to play tennis.

Activities like running and weight lifting still extend your life and offer plenty of other health benefits, from strength to cardiovascular fitness. But for optimal benefits, O'Keefe says gym-goers may want to consider supplementing those workouts with activities that foster social connection.

"Any exercise is better than none," O'Keefe says. But "when our physical activity also allows us to play, it basically magnifies the benefits, because you get not only the musculoskeletal and cardiovascular benefits of physical exercise, but you also get that emotional bonding, which turns out to be probably just as important."

O'Keefe, whose exercise regimen typically includes running and weight lifting, says he's even changed his own behavior because of the study: he and his family have taken up badminton. "You can't play badminton without feeling like a kid again," he says. "It's just pure fun." ◻

3 Science-backed ways to extend your life

Exercise may be proven to keep your body young on a cellular level, but new research suggests that there are plenty of things you can do, in addition to working out, to increase your chances of a long life.

EAT CARBS A study of 15,500 adults tracked for 25 years found that people who ate a moderate amount of carbs had longer life expectancies than people on low-carb diets and those who ate a large amount of carbs.

DRINK COFFEE A years-long study of 500,000 people published in *JAMA Internal Medicine* found that people who drink at least one cup of coffee a day—including decaf and instant—had a reduced risk of premature death. And the more coffee people drank, up to seven cups a day, the more significant the benefits.

TAKE CHARGE Simply feeling in control of their lives was shown to help elderly people feel younger and happier. Researchers guessed that their more youthful mind-sets inspired the participants to be more active, thus extending their life spans. *—J.D.*

SOURCES: MAYO CLINIC PROCEEDINGS, CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION, THE LANCET, THE LANCET PUBLIC HEALTH, JAMA INTERNAL MEDICINE, AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

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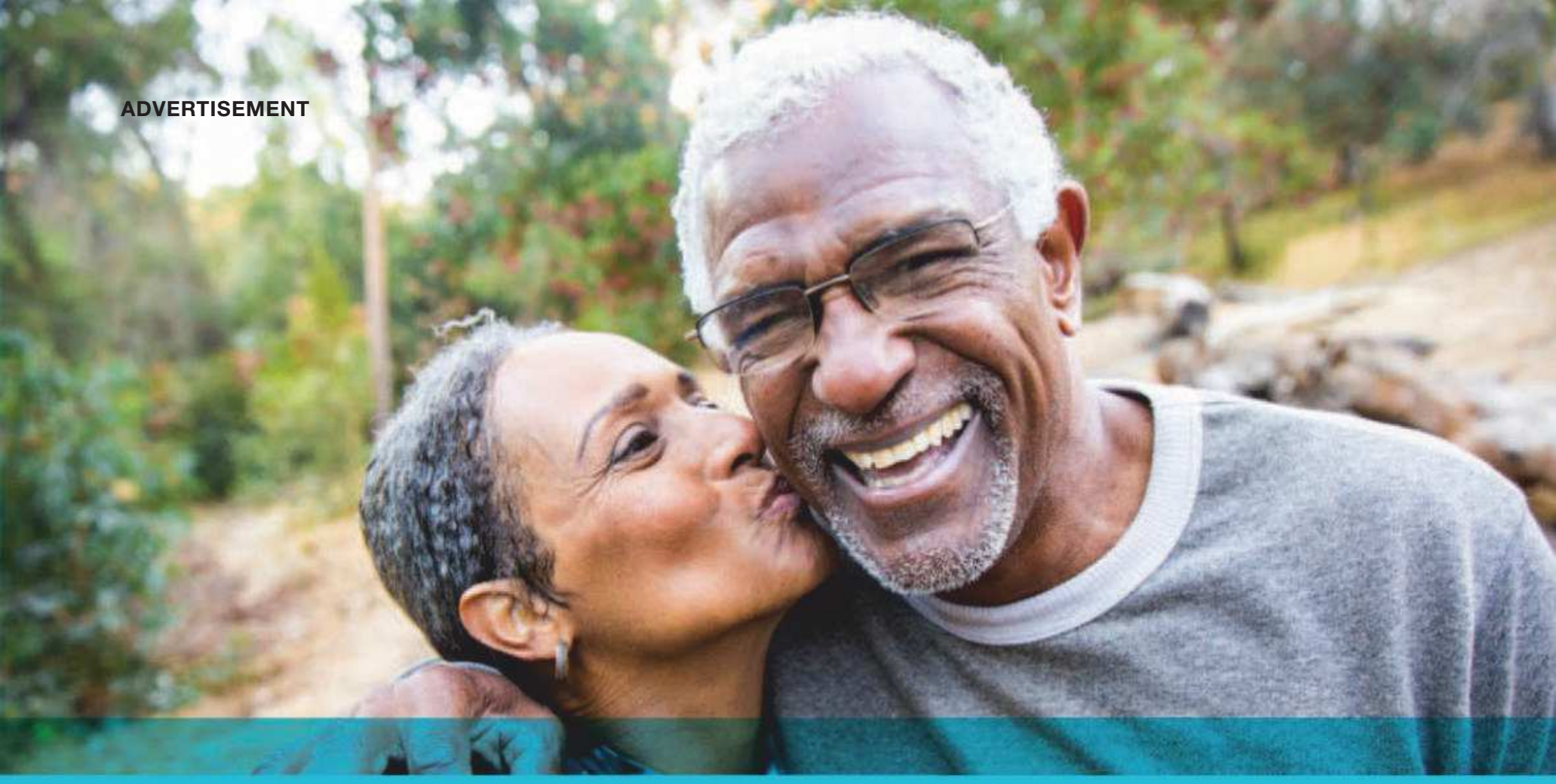

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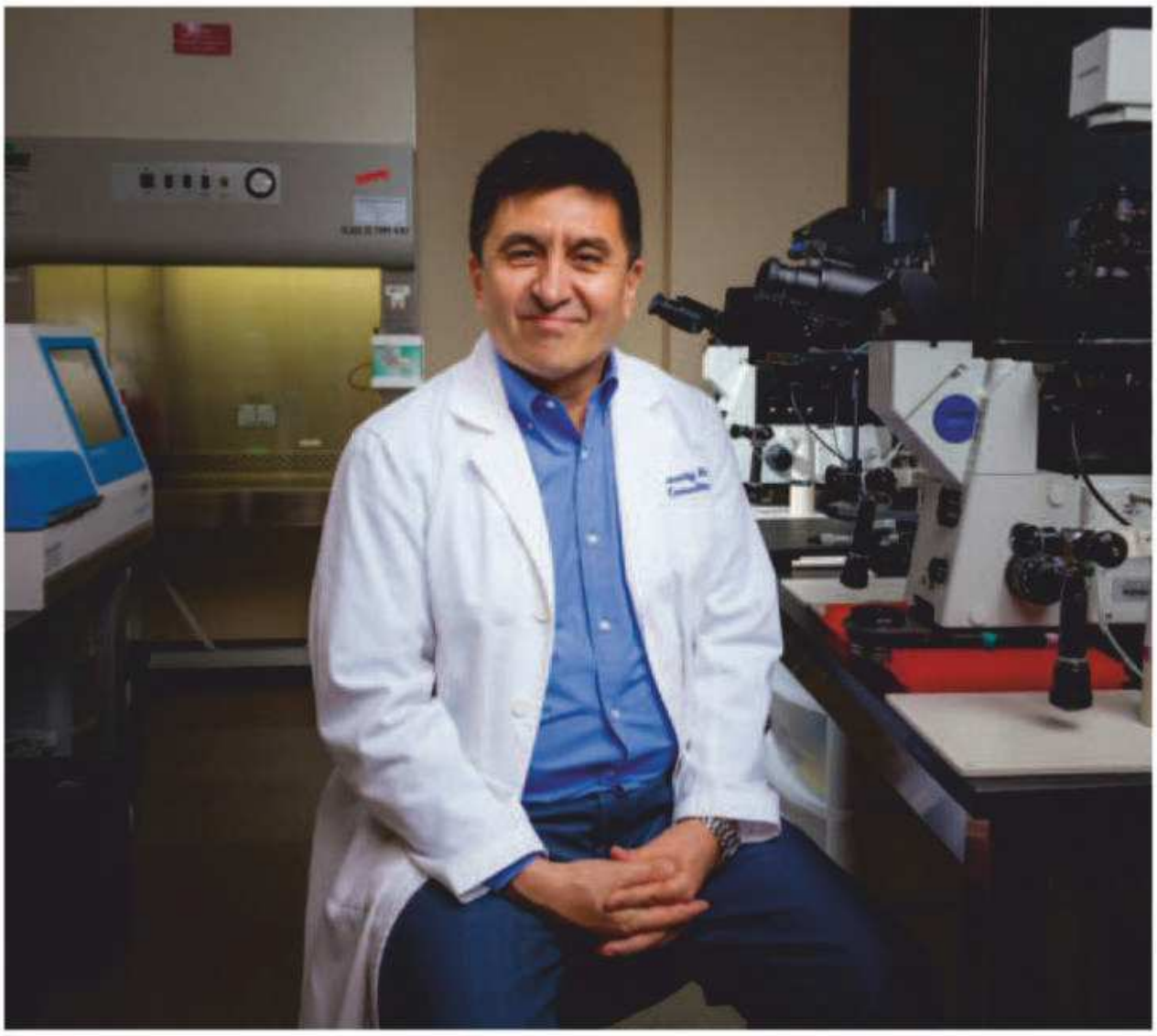

SHOUKHRAT MITALIPOV

DESIGNING DISEASE-FREE EMBRYOS

The biologist from Oregon Health & Science University shocked people in 2017 when he repaired a genetic mutation causing heart disease in dozens of human embryos. (The embryos were destroyed as per ethical requirements of the experiment.) He used a controversial gene-editing technique called CRISPR that has yet to be proven safe and effective for treating human disease, and critics questioned his results. But this year, Mitalipov defended his findings after re-analyzing the DNA from the embryonic cells, and other groups have reported similar results using CRISPR to repair the mutation in mouse embryos. Mitalipov says he also tested the technique with inherited mutations that cause other diseases, with similar repair success. He sees his studies as the first step toward IVF gene therapy, in which researchers can repair inherited genetic diseases in IVF embryos before they are implanted in the womb.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBBIE MCCLARAN FOR TIME

MITALIPOV'S TECHNIQUE COULD HELP REDUCE THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AFFECTED BY GENETIC DISEASES

JAMES P. ALLISON AND DR. TASUKU HONJO

Changing cancer care

The immunologists, from MD Anderson Cancer Center and Kyoto University, respectively, earned the 2018 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for their discovery that the immune system can be rewired to attack certain cancers.

YONATAN ADIRI

Diagnosing on the go

In July, Adiri's startup, Healthy.io, got FDA approval for Dip.io, an app that turns your smartphone camera into a clinical-grade diagnostic device that can read a urinalysis dipstick, allowing consumers to take urine tests remotely.

BILL AND MELINDA GATES

Funding the world's biggest issues

Icons of philanthropic giving, the Gateses invest hundreds of millions of dollars in global health. Bill Gates recently contributed to a $30 million fund for Alzheimer's research, and this year Melinda focused on improving maternal health.

DR. SEAN HARPER

Ending migraine pain

In May, Aimovig, a drug Harper developed at biotech company Amgen, became the first migraine-prevention drug to receive FDA approval. Aimovig limits the number and severity of migraines with a monthly injection and eliminated migraines in some patients.

ALLISON, HONJO: GETTY IMAGES; B. GATES: LIONEL PRÉAU—RIVA PRESS/REDUX; M. GATES: GETTY IMAGES

MINDY GROSSMAN

REDEFINING WELLNESS

In September, Weight Watchers whittled its name to WW, a symbol of a new commitment to wellness over weight loss. But CEO Grossman has been on that mission for months, removing artificial ingredients from WW food products, planning a meal-kit launch and investing hundreds of thousands of dollars in helping families in poverty afford healthy groceries.

ANGIE TRUESDALE

FIXING CHILDBIRTH

The U.S. has the highest maternal mortality rate of any developed nation, with black mothers most affected. As Centering Healthcare Institute's CEO, Truesdale launched a major expansion of CenteringPregnancy, a group prenatal-care program proven to improve birth outcomes, especially in underserved communities.

TODD POPE

A NEW FUTURE FOR ROBOTIC SURGERY

For nearly 20 years, Intuitive Surgical's da Vinci system monopolized the robotic-surgery market. That changed late last year, when the Senhance Surgical System, a robot from Pope's company TransEnterix, won FDA approval to perform minimally invasive gynecological and colorectal procedures. Approvals for a range of abdominal surgeries came in the following months. Today Senhance is still the new kid on the block, with only about 20 robots in use around the world compared with more than 4,400 da Vinci systems, but it promises to shake up the robotic-surgery market by introducing high-tech advances, including cameras that track surgeons' eye movements as they operate, and haptic feedback that helps doctors feel out what the robotic arms are doing. Perhaps most important, TransEnterix, unlike Intuitive, helps hospitals make up for the sizable up-front investment of buying a surgical robot—a Senhance system runs up to $2 million—with budget-friendly features such as reusable instruments that rarely need to be replaced and open-source technology that works with hospitals' existing equipment. The company is already making a splash at home and abroad: Florida Hospital performed the U.S.'s first Senhance surgery (a partial intestine removal) in July and has since completed procedures

KUSHNER: RICHARD PERRY—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; SCHLOSSER: REUTERS; SHANAFELT: JULIE GREICIUS—STANFORD SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

ranging from hernia repairs to bowel resections. Overseas, Senhance's lower per-procedure costs allowed Germany's St. Marien-Hospital to incorporate robotics into some of its most common surgeries, which the hospital couldn't afford with other systems. And Pope isn't stopping there: he says he can envision a world where every hospital has access to a Senhance system, regardless of its bottom line. "It's not just good enough to introduce some interesting technology that can benefit patients," Pope says. "It also has to fit within a constrained budget environment."

> 'IT'S NOT JUST GOOD ENOUGH TO INTRODUCE SOME INTERESTING TECHNOLOGY ... IT HAS TO FIT WITHIN A BUDGET.'

PHOTOGRAPH BY ZACK WITTMAN FOR TIME

VALTER LONGO

THE FASTING EVANGELIST

Longo, director of the Longevity Institute at the University of Southern California, believes that the secret to staving off the ills of old age is a diet designed to trick your body into thinking it's fasting. He translated his years in the lab, researching the effects of fasting and calorie restriction, into a 2018 book called *The Longevity Diet,* which preaches a low-protein, plant-based eating style with regular periods of fasting. This diet, he claims, shifts the body's metabolism and enhances the power of cells to help protect against chronic diseases like Type 2 diabetes and cardiovascular disease. Some small studies have found that a fast-mimicking diet—the kind Longo advocates—helps people lose weight and body fat, lowers blood pressure and decreases levels of a hormone linked to aging and disease. Ideas like his are catching on: according to a 2018 survey from the International Food Information Council Foundation, intermittent fasting is this year's most popular diet. Now Longo is studying whether a fast-mimicking diet improves cancer outcomes—and can help prevent the disease in the first place.

JOSHUA KUSHNER AND MARIO SCHLOSSER

Demystifying insurance

The founders of the health-insurance company Oscar—which simplifies the process of finding doctors and specializes in coverage for individuals—are expanding health plans to six new markets and three new states this year.

DR. TAIT SHANAFELT

Boosting doctor morale

Nearly half of doctors now say they're professionally burned out. On the front lines to change the medical system that churns out detached doctors—and endangers patients—is Shanafelt, named the first ever chief wellness officer for Stanford Medicine.

HELMY ELTOUKHY AND AMIRALI TALASAZ

Simplifying early cancer detection

Under Eltoukhy and Talasaz, Guardant Health created a cancer blood test that matches patients to the right drug treatments. This year researchers will test a new blood assay to predict which cancers are most likely to recur.

MISTY VAUGHAN ALLEN

Tackling suicide

Suicide rates are up across the country. The one state where they're falling? Nevada, largely thanks to Allen, the state's suicide-prevention coordinator, whose partnerships with nurses, gun retailers and others have curbed Nevada's historically high suicide rate.

TAMMY DUCKWORTH

A CHAMPION FOR BREASTFEEDING MOMS

U.S. Senator Duckworth has long been an advocate of breastfeeding accommodations, including introducing legislation that requires all medium and large airports to offer a lactation room for mothers. But when the Illinois Democrat became the first Senator to give birth in office, this April, that activism was pushed to the next level as she fought to get long-standing congressional rules against allowing a child on the Senate floor overturned to allow her to nurse her newborn. Since then, Duckworth has cast votes and attended protests with her baby girl tucked to her chest, and cites her own breastfeeding experience as a reason she opposed immigration policies that removed infants and toddlers from their mothers' arms when they crossed the border to seek asylum. Between her legislation and personal example, breastfeeding accommodations for mothers are now a health and public-policy discussion on a national scale.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF

RONI AND OREN FRANK

Streamlining psychiatry

The married co-founders of Talkspace, an app that connects more than a million users with therapists via text or video, announced this year they'll add psychiatrists who can prescribe medications over video chat.

LARRY MERLO

Putting doctors in drugstores

When CVS CEO Merlo finalized a $69 billion merger with insurance giant Aetna in October, he promised convenient care in his stores and online. Critics fear jacked-up prices and choked-out competition. Either way, it's sure to change how you see the doctor.

LONDON BREED AND SUSAN TALAMANTES EGGMAN

Reducing drug deaths

Mayor Breed and Assembly-woman Eggman rallied for a bill to reduce overdoses by making San Francisco the first U.S. city with a supervised injection facility. Despite a veto from Governor Jerry Brown, the Democrats are pushing their legislation forward.

DR. ATUL GAWANDE

Changing corporate coverage

Gawande was tapped to lead a new nonprofit health care venture that will cover the more than 1 million employees of Amazon, Berkshire Hathaway and JPMorgan Chase. Though few details are public, it's said to focus on transparent, low-cost corporate health care.

DUCKWORTH: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; BREED: JESSICA CHOU—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; EGGMAN, GAWANDE: GETTY IMAGES

STEFFANIE STRATHDEE

Solving superbugs

In 2015, her husband contracted an antibiotic-resistant bug on vacation and almost died. But Strathdee, a University of California, San Diego, epidemiologist, saved him by appealing to researchers of an obscure treatment that uses special viruses called phages to kill the bacteria. In June, she helped launch the Center for Innovative Phage Applications and Therapeutics, which she hopes will make more superbug treatments possible.

DR. SCOTT GOTTLIEB

Keeping drug-makers honest

Appointed by President Trump to head the Food and Drug Administration, Gottlieb gained supporters for grounding his tough policies in scientific evidence. Last year, he pulled an opioid off the market because its addictive properties outweighed its painkilling benefits, and this year he addressed high drug prices by approving more generic versions and cracked down on e-cigarette makers and questionable stem-cell clinics.

JUAN CARLOS IZPISUA BELMONTE

Closing the organ deficit

Izpisua Belmonte is addressing the shortage of human organs for transplant with a scientifically innovative—albeit ethically controversial—solution: growing human cells in animal embryos to produce, say, human liver tissue inside a living pig or nonhuman primate, which can then be transplanted into people. It's the first step toward growing enough human organs without relying on human donors.

ROB SOLOMON

Helping the people pay

Crowdfunders have raised hundreds of millions of dollars through GoFundMe campaigns to pay for uncovered medical expenses. To help, CEO Solomon removed the 5% platform fee from all U.S.-based personal campaigns late last year, allowing users to keep more of the money they raise. With the rate of uninsured Americans now beginning a small but steady increase, the crowdfunding platform is vital to America's health.

BETTI WIGGINS

Upgrading cafeteria food

Swapping iceberg lettuce for mixed greens was only step one. Over her decade leading Detroit public schools' food program, Betti Wiggins sourced 40% of food locally and made hers the first district in the country to offer free breakfast to every student. Now, as officer of nutrition services in Houston, she's working with the Texas Department of Agriculture and other organizations to bring healthy meals to more than 215,000 children.

KRISTOFFER FAMM

Replacing drugs with electricity

Zapping cells with electric currents doesn't sound like a safe way to treat disease, but, Famm reasoned, since nerves communicate with a flurry of electrical signals, why not exploit that? He founded Galvani Bioelectronics (with funding from GlaxoSmithKline and Google parent Alphabet) to create implantable electric devices that can control the activity of organs such as the liver and pancreas in order to treat diseases like diabetes.

ANNE WOJCICKI

Democratizing DNA

Led by CEO Wojcicki, 23andMe gives users insights into their genetic makeup with a saliva sample. In March, the company became the first to offer an FDA-approved home genetic test for cancer risk; for $199, it provides a limited look into increased risks for breast, ovarian and prostate cancers. And in July, GlaxoSmithKline became 23andMe's latest pharma partner, leveraging users' anonymous genetic data to develop drugs.

DR. RÉGINE SITRUK-WARE

Reinventing contraception

Sitruk-Ware's work at the Population Council's Center for Biomedical Research is revolutionizing how men and women prevent unwanted pregnancies. In August, the FDA approved Annovera, a single vaginal ring that is inserted and removed painlessly by the patient and provides a full year of birth control. Now Sitruk-Ware is leading research into male birth control: a daily gel for men to lower sperm count and prevent pregnancy.

BRUTAL REALITY

The vanishing of Jamal Khashoggi threatens to make a global pariah out of Saudi Arabia's once feted crown prince

BY KARL VICK

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS MCGRATH

BEFORE THE WORLD EVEN LEARNED HIS AGE, IT could glean that the young man who runs Saudi Arabia takes extraordinary chances with violence. Mohammed Bin Salman, the prince now known by the global shorthand of MBS, was utterly unknown when his father ascended to the Saudi throne in January 2015. It was a routine transfer of power from one elderly royal to another, until King Salman delegated a massive share of his authority to his son. Within two months, the newly minted Defense Minister launched a war in Yemen that has shattered what was already the poorest country in the Arab world. He turned out to be 29.

More than three years on, none of the tens of thousands dead in Yemen have drawn a fraction of the attention now concentrated on Jamal Khashoggi, the Saudi journalist and commentator who fled the kingdom after finding himself on MBS's bad side, and re-

Posters of Khashoggi on a police barricade in front of Saudi Arabia's consulate in Istanbul on Oct. 8

portedly paid for it with his life. The grisly crime holds the power to transform the crown prince into a pariah, and perhaps even upend the Middle East order he had made his personal project, with the help of a flattered U.S. President. "I think his image is now irreparably tarnished, if not shattered," says Bruce Riedel, director of the Brookings Intelligence Project and author of *Kings and Presidents: Saudi Arabia and the United States Since FDR*. "It has unmasked him as a reckless, dangerous, thuggish autocrat."

Khashoggi's reported murder and dismemberment likely occurred on Oct. 2 in Istanbul, inside the Saudi consulate. He may well have gone there assuming that certain fundamental norms of decency remained in place. After all, if diplomatic compounds are associated with anything beyond diplomacy, it is refuge. WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange, for example, has been under the protection of Ecuador inside its London embassy since 2012.

Outrages appear more shocking in settings that signal decorum. Yet the depravity reportedly visited upon Khashoggi, then upon his corpse—by a team of 15 Saudis, one with a bone saw—was of another order of magnitude. As reported by Turkish officials who say it was captured on audio, the murder advertised barbarism and broadcast impunity.

The question is whether Donald Trump sees that as such a bad thing. The President is deeply invested personally in the Saudi leader and more broadly in the abandonment of the international rules-based order. He has embraced despots and at the U.N. General Assembly exalted not universal rights that transcend borders but, rather, "sovereignty"—the freedom to do as you wish within your own. And by custom the Saudi consulate, tucked on a side street in Istanbul, was sovereign territory of the kingdom.

"Here we go again with, you know, you're guilty until proven innocent," Trump complained on Oct. 16, in his third attempt to gloss the affair. First the President pointedly noted Khashoggi, a permanent U.S. resident, was "not a citizen." Then, as he sent Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Riyadh, he floated a theory after speaking to King Salman. Perhaps it was "rogue killers," he said. It was left to the New York *Times,* a few hours later, to deflate the theory by locating several of the suspects in the crown prince's entourage.

KHASHOGGI WAS NO OUTSIDER. At 59, he had worked both within and without the Saudi royal court, edited an establishment newspaper, even served as spokesman for a Saudi ambassador to Washington. But he was associated with a branch of the Saudi family tree that had lost power. Worse, he was unable to curb a habit of speaking plainly. Khashoggi insisted on publicly confronting a crown prince who wanted only congratulations for allowing

From top: Surveillance footage from Oct. 2 shows a Saudi jet at Istanbul's Ataturk airport, suspects at the airport and Khashoggi entering the Saudi consulate that day

PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: SABAH NEWSPAPER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES (2); REUTERS

women to drive and movie theaters to open.

"I have been told that I need to accept, with gratitude, the social reforms that I have long called for while keeping silent on other matters," Khashoggi wrote in the Washington *Post* in May, "ranging from the Yemen quagmire, hastily executed economic reforms, the blockade of Qatar, discussions about an alliance with Israel to counter Iran, and last year's imprisonment of dozens of Saudi intellectuals and clerics." When he exiled himself from Saudi Arabia in 2017, he left behind his family. He eventually moved to Istanbul, where he became engaged. The new marriage required proof he was divorced. He contacted the Saudi consulate and was told when to come in.

Ten hours before his appointment, in the dead of night, a private jet landed in Istanbul, and the 15 Saudis assembled. Captured on Turkish surveillance cameras, the team's presence was open to interpretation. As Pompeo set off, Saudi officials floated in the media a narrative that Khashoggi was targeted only for interrogation, but things went awry, his death unplanned.

But the story that took hold was the lurid chronology that had already emerged from Istanbul—one that unnamed Turkish officials claim is supported by graphic audio that apparently captures the gruesome murder, preceded by the severing of fingers. Trump said on Oct. 17 that he has asked Turkey for the tape "if it exists." A second private flight arrived from Riyadh four hours after Khashoggi disappeared into the consulate, and was on the ground for only an hour. Before returning to Riyadh, it swung down to Egypt, a Saudi ally, where it remained for about 27 hours. The other plane stopped in the United Arab Emirates, another Gulf monarchy, one that functions as Saudi Arabia's soul mate in foreign affairs. The leaders of all three countries differ with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on obscure but very deeply felt questions of how Muslim nations should be governed (Erdogan is a fan of the Muslim Brotherhood, which the others loathe). The rivalry at least suggests why Turkey has been so keen to make Saudi Arabia look bad.

ALL THIS WOULD be a challenge to any U.S. President. It's even more complicated for Trump, who has gladly returned the Saudis' embrace, making Riyadh his first overseas trip. After he took office, Saudi Arabia nearly tripled its spending on lobbying in D.C. to $27 million in 2017, according to data compiled by the Center for International Policy that was provided to TIME. MBS cultivated Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner, scion to scion, and spoke the transactional language of Trump by professing interest in arms deals said to be worth $110 billion (though few have yet come to fruition). Trump even

VIEWPOINT

The West must punish Khashoggi's killers. Here's how we can do it

BY BILL BROWDER

The apparent murder of Jamal Khashoggi presents a fundamental challenge to the civilized world. He was a Washington *Post* journalist and a respected member of the international community, in a NATO member country, trying to start a new life. If the Saudis admit to killing him and are not held to account, then it will give a green light to any thin-skinned ruler to go ahead and assassinate critics without fear of consequences.

Although our policy tools are limited, there is a way to create consequences for this kind of atrocity: the Global Magnitsky Act. This piece of legislation gives us the power to freeze assets and ban visas of gross human-rights abusers from anywhere in the world. It was named after my Russian lawyer, Sergei Magnitsky, who uncovered a massive Russian government corruption scheme in 2008. He bravely exposed the officials involved and was subsequently arrested before being tortured and left to die in Russian custody. Versions of the Global Magnitsky Act now exist in the U.S., Canada, the United Kingdom and more. It is currently on the agenda in the E.U.

The Global Magnitsky Act acts like a modern-day cancer drug for impunity. Instead of targeting the whole body, it specifically targets the malignant cells. In this case, instead of sanctioning an entire country and punishing innocent citizens for crimes of the regime, the Global Magnitsky Act goes directly after the individuals who made the criminal decisions and carried them out. It has been successfully used against Burmese military officials, Nicaraguan security operatives and Russians responsible for Sergei Magnitsky's death.

Applying the Global Magnitsky Act to Saudi officials would be particularly powerful. They typically have huge assets stashed all over the world and luxury properties in places like London, Paris and New York City. When you are added to a Magnitsky List in the West, it destroys your way of life. Every financial institution will close your account, and you will be denied entry to every desirable area in the world. While asset freezes and travel bans don't constitute real justice for murder, they're a lot better than total impunity.

This is a defining moment in our history. We can either allow savagery to rule the world, or use the tools we've created to maintain civilization and stability. Western powers must impose Global Magnitsky sanctions on the Saudi officials who carried out and authorized this atrocity—even if the buck stops at the very top.

Browder is the founder and CEO of Hermitage Capital Management and leads a campaign to expose corruption and abuses of human rights in Russia

VIEWPOINT

My final breakfast with my brave and open-hearted friend Jamal

BY ROBERT LACEY

I last saw Jamal Khashoggi in early July, over breakfast at our favorite London restaurant, the Wolseley. He and I first met 39 years ago in Jidda, but we developed a close friendship over regular breakfasts at this former automobile showroom on Piccadilly when he worked in the Saudi Arabian embassy in London in 2003.

Everyone at the mission, including Jamal's boss, Prince Turki, the Saudi intelligence chief turned ambassador, referred to him fondly as Uncle Jamal. And how he loved his scrambled eggs! As well as breakfasting, he and I spent a lot of time putting the world to rights, until the prince whisked him off to Washington to be his spokesman there. Jamal was always on the inside track, at some of the very highest levels—and the power of his critique as an informed insider likely contributed to his fate.

On that July morning earlier this year, Jamal wanted to talk to me about one of the articles we had composed together for the Washington *Post* in his early months of exile: "What Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Can Learn From Queen Elizabeth II." Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) had been due for an audience that March in Buckingham Palace on his way to Washington.

We had written quite positively about MBS, who had just jailed 11 minor princelings for refusing to pay their electricity and water bills. Why stop there? we asked. Why not go on to cut down the numbers of useless Saudi princelings as a whole? One reason the House of Windsor is the world's most successful reigning family is its strict rationing of royalness to the core relatives around the Queen.

But the greatest lesson we suggested that the House of Saud might learn from British royalty was to listen to its people—"What touches all should be approved by all," the principle that King Edward I proclaimed when he summoned the Model Parliament of 1295. It had been a throwaway line in our February collaboration, but Jamal had come to feel that MBS's failure to consult with his people lay at the heart of his problems, quoting the medieval King Edward in several radio interviews. Saudi Arabia's young prince in a hurry would not brook the slightest criticism.

Over coffee, Jamal and I went back into Saudi history to remember another young prince in a hurry—Abdul Aziz, who created modern Saudi Arabia in the first half of the 20th century. Like his grandson MBS, he worked for two decades in a theoretically subordinate capacity. He always deferred to his father, Abdul Rahman, following the Saudi code to treat elders with deep respect.

It was a cornerstone of Abdul Aziz's style to listen—to the clerics who sanctified his mission, to the merchants who financed it and especially to the tribes and families he needed to co-opt. On a regular basis, he would confer with all comers, however humble, discussing the affairs of the day and hearing grievances. The tradition lives on today in the *majlis,* or sitting place, that every Saudi provincial governor holds regularly. Nationwide, the Shura Council (consultative assembly) built up by several Saudi rulers sits in Riyadh as a prototype parliament.

You would have thought, Jamal told me, that a reform agenda whose objectives were aimed at the year 2030, a dozen years hence, would at least pay lip service to the need for popular consultation in the future. These democratic forums already exist in Saudi Arabia, and they include representation for women. But does MBS even nod toward a role for them? Economic and social change, yes. But genuine and solid political reform? Not a whisper.

Listening is not in the crown prince's plan, and it is certainly not in his style. MBS apparently sees the destiny of the House of Saud as to grow ever more powerful and despotic, like any other Arab autocracy. It was when he hit on this truth, Jamal said, that he realized he was no longer safe in Saudi Arabia.

As we left our table and walked out onto Piccadilly, the two of us lamented the rise of political gangsters around the world who seem to be turning our decade into the age of the bullies, vaunting their thuggery and elevating their threats into a technique of government. "Bullies must always be faced down. We must never be scared," my friend explained as his guiding principle when we said goodbye—for what now seems tragically to have been the last time.

For the past two weeks, I've been asking myself why he did it. Why, Jamal? How could you stride so confidently into that Saudi consulate in a foreign land, knowing the hazards that might lie inside?

Well, there was his Turkish fiancée, for a start, the lovely Hatice Cengiz. Jamal talked so very fondly of her that bright summer morning and of the sunniness she had brought to his life. He told me how much he was looking forward to getting married and to making a base with her in Turkey. Obtaining that divorce paperwork from Saudi Arabia was clearly very important for him.

Then there were his trusting instincts—but trust can so often be abused. According to reports, Jamal was hospitably received by junior officials when he first made inquiries there the previous week. The exile felt at home with their style.

Jamal was a Saudi to the end. He loved the perverse old kingdom to which he had devoted his life, trying to make it a more open, honest and responsive place. And if part of him *did* worry deep inside, there was, of course, that guiding principle.

Always face down the bullies. Never be scared.

WHY, JAMAL? HOW COULD YOU STRIDE SO CONFIDENTLY INTO THAT SAUDI CONSULATE IN A FOREIGN LAND, KNOWING THE HAZARDS THAT MIGHT LIE INSIDE?

Lacey is a British historian and biographer who co-authored articles for the Washington Post *with Jamal Khashoggi*

CLIFF OWEN—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

Khashoggi had made an enemy of Saudi Arabia's powerful Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman

argued after Khashoggi's disappearance that the risk to defense-sector jobs tied his hands.

The private sector differs on that. Despite having earlier embraced MBS as a transformational figure, Wall Street figureheads and media companies pulled out in droves from a glittering executive summit in Riyadh in late October, and at least three Washington lobbying firms dropped the Saudis as a client. While Pompeo was all smiles in Riyadh, repeating a Saudi promise of a "transparent" inquiry, some White House allies recoiled. "This guy is a wrecking ball," Republican Senator Lindsey Graham said of MBS on *Fox & Friends,* calling on the crown prince to relinquish power. "He had this guy murdered at a consulate in Turkey, and to expect me to ignore it? I feel used and abused."

Almost every member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations signed a letter to set in motion the Global Magnitsky Act, which could produce sanctions that would freeze the funds of any foreign officials implicated in crimes. And even before Khashoggi was presumed dead, the Senate came within 11 votes of denying Saudi Arabia the military support it needs to prosecute the war in Yemen.

But there are limits to the U.S. response. "Some of my colleagues say, 'That's it. We're going to cut Saudi Arabia off like a dead skunk,'" says Republican Senator John Kennedy. "That's magical thinking." The U.S.-Saudi alliance, while never comfortable, is old and deep. There is an inertia generated by shared interests, including healthy oil markets, intelligence exchanges and, not least, zealous opposition to Iran. "We can't deal with Iran. We tried. They're a cancer on the Middle East," Kennedy notes, and the Saudis placed this shared enmity at the center of their pitch to Trump. The Khashoggi incident threatens the U.S. strategy to contain the Islamic Republic. On Nov. 5, the U.S. will reimpose sanctions targeting any customer of Iran's oil markets. Their success may rest on Saudi Arabia's ability to serve the businesses and countries no longer able to trade with Tehran.

For now, though, the Iranians are quietly savoring the sight of their regional archrival cast in the role of barbarian. "The Iranians see MBS as the gift that keeps on giving," says Riedel. "His reckless war in Yemen, his undermining of the Saudi brand, his weakening the internal security of the kingdom by alienating members of the royal family. The Iranian press has had a field day with the Little General, as they call him." Khashoggi's death, in other words, is also a grievous wound the Saudi leadership has inflicted on itself. In a March interview with TIME, the crown prince declared: "Any problem in the Middle East, you will find Iran." Not this one. —*With reporting by* BILLY PERRIGO/LONDON *and* ALANA ABRAMSON/WASHINGTON ◻

World

#MeToo heads east

Women across Asia are fighting sexism and assault **By Suyin Haynes and Aria Hangyu Chen/Seoul and Hong Kong**

IT'S BEEN EIGHT YEARS SINCE SEO JI-HYUN SAYS she was sexually harassed, but it's still painful to recall. "For a long time, I tortured myself by blaming myself for everything," she tells TIME on a cloudy September morning in Seoul's trendy Apgujeong neighborhood. Seo, a top-level prosecutor in South Korea, alleges that a senior male colleague repeatedly groped her at a funeral in 2010, while the country's Justice Minister sat nearby.

She reported the incident to her managers shortly after, but was subjected to performance audits that she describes as unfair and assigned to a lower-level branch outside Seoul—a move she says did not match her strong track record at work. (The Ministry of Justice did not respond to TIME's requests for comment; Seo's alleged harasser has said he was too drunk at the time to recall the incident but denies any involvement in the alleged cover-up and retaliation.)

Last fall, Seo watched as the #MeToo movement took off in Hollywood and spread across industries in the U.S., Canada and parts of Europe. She realized even "world-famous actresses" had suffered as she had. "I had more confidence in believing that it wasn't my fault," she says. In November, Seo asked to meet with senior management to open an investigation into the incident and her treatment at work in the years that followed. Frustrated by the lack of progress, Seo added her voice to the global chorus on Jan. 29, sharing her experience in an open letter on her workplace intranet and signing it with #MeToo at the end. That evening she spoke on one of South Korea's most influential evening news programs. "The reason I did the interview was to tell many people out there that it's not their fault," she says.

Her words resonated. Today, Seo's interview is widely credited with kick-starting South Korea's own #MeToo movement, triggering a wave of women speaking out against film directors, actors, a poet and others. Meanwhile, Ko Mi-kyung, president of Korea Women's Hotline—an organization supporting survivors of domestic abuse and sexual harassment—estimates that the hotline received a 23% increase in calls in the weeks following Seo's interview. Violence against women is a widespread problem: in a 2017 study, almost 80% of South Korean men surveyed by the Korean Institute of Criminology said they had physically or psychologically abused a girlfriend; a 2014 U.N. report showed South

PHOTOGRAPH BY TIM FRANCO FOR TIME

‘I want to show the image of the survivor as happy and confident.’

—Prosecutor Seo Ji-hyun, who is credited with kick-starting the #MeToo movement in South Korea

Korea had the third-highest rate of female murder victims in the world.

From South Korea to India, women's-rights activists and survivors across the region have been watching the #MeToo reckoning on the other side of the globe. As high-profile perpetrators in the West apologized for their behavior and some lost positions of power, many in Asia saw a chance to reignite long-simmering movements pushing for gender equality.

As in the U.S., the movements in Asian countries have been started and sustained by ordinary citizens. But while celebrities helped make #MeToo go viral in the U.S., there have been fewer high-profile cases in Asia. "Those who are fighting are not famous people," says Lu Pin, the founder of the Chinese activist platform Feminist Voices. "It is countless grassroots people echoing each other."

In Asia, #MeToo isn't just synonymous with sexual harassment and assault. While women in China and India have borrowed the hashtag, its manifestations have become a broader feminist rallying cry elsewhere, addressing deeply entrenched inequalities including access to abortion, domestic abuse and murder. In Japan, #WithYou has been used to express solidarity with survivors of workplace harassment; in Thailand, women voiced their frustration at being slut-shamed with #DontTellMeHowToDress; and in the Philippines, women have flooded social media and the streets in protest against President Rodrigo Duterte's sexist comments, under the hashtag #BabaeAko (I Am Woman).

But daring to speak out in some of these deeply patriarchal societies comes with enormous risks. In democratic South Korea, even as women take to the streets demanding justice on violence and sexual harassment, they cover their faces out of fear of backlash. In China—a repressive state where crackdowns on human-rights activists and minority populations are escalating—women must contend with their social-media posts being censored and online feminist platforms shut down.

One sexual-assault survivor in Hangzhou applauds the Hollywood celebrities who have spoken out. But the situation is different in China, she tells TIME. "A lot of people say that when a woman speaks up, or even when [rape or assault] happens, that's the moment she dies."

IN CHINA, hostility toward public protest means women's-rights activists cannot flood the streets; they must go online. Although the government has a tight grip on freedom of information, a new generation of digitally savvy women is working to amplify #MeToo stories. Activists have managed to circumvent censorship in various ways—distorting images, using emojis, manipulating Chinese characters and using code sourced from GitHub, a software-building platform.

The movement took off on Jan. 1, when Luo Xixi, a former student at Beihang University in Beijing, wrote an open letter on Weibo, China's Twitter-like social-media platform. Luo alleged that when she was a Ph.D. candidate in 2004, her professor Chen Xiaowu drove her to his sister's home and tried to force himself on her. Chen denied the allegations but was fired 10 days later. The university revoked his teaching qualifications, issuing a public statement saying it found Chen had sexually harassed students.

Luo's post was viewed more than 3 million times in one day and sparked allegations against at least a dozen university professors. In a 2017 survey of college students and graduates, almost 75% of women in China reported being sexually harassed in their lifetime, with more than 40% of incidents taking place in public spaces on college campuses. Ripples of the movement eventually reached beyond universities, with allegations against leading figures in China's NGOs and media sectors coming to a head in July.

The roots of today's movement can be traced to feminist campaigns several years earlier. Back in 2012, young women gained widespread attention for public performances, including wearing "bloodied" wedding dresses on Valentine's Day in Beijing to draw attention to domestic violence and occupying men's bathrooms in Guangzhou to protest inequality in public restrooms.

A turning point came in 2015 when five activists, known widely as the Feminist Five, were detained on charges of "provoking trouble" after planning a multi-city protest to tackle sexual harassment on public transport. After international condemnation, authorities backtracked and released the women a month after their detention. "These political activists spent years making the ground fertile for the blossoming of the #MeToo movement in China today," says Leta Hong Fincher, author of *Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China*.

That blossoming hasn't gone unnoticed by the Chinese government. In May 2017, state media pointed to "hostile forces" using "Western feminism" to interfere in the country's affairs, a phrase that cropped up again during the recent wave of sexual-harassment claims. If the 2012 protests took place now, says activist Xiao Yue (better known as Xiao Meili), "we would have been arrested before it even happened."

Indeed, with more than 800 million Internet users in China, censors are quick to block or delete any content deemed disruptive. That was the case for Xianzi, 25, who alleges that well-known TV presenter Zhu Jun molested her in a makeup room in 2014, when she was an intern at China Central Television, the country's state television broadcaster. (CCTV has not responded to requests for comment.)

"I wanted to share my own experiences with other girls, even though I can't guarantee what will happen when they speak up," Xianzi tells TIME of her decision to post about her experience on social media in July. (Fearing backlash, she asked TIME not to publish her real name.) Her story was reposted by another user on Weibo but was censored after only two hours; in August, she says posts on her own Weibo account were temporarily blocked from being reposted for more than two weeks.

Zhu denied the allegations in a lawyer's letter posted online in August. Soon after he filed a lawsuit against Xianzi, a friend of hers who posted the story on Weibo, and the platform itself. (Weibo did not respond to a request for comment.) In a court document reviewed by TIME,

'A lot of people say that when a woman speaks up, that's the moment she dies.'
—A SEXUAL-ASSAULT SURVIVOR IN HANGZHOU, CHINA

Female protesters shout slogans during a rally against spy-cam porn on Aug. 4 in central Seoul

ED JONES—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Zhu said Xianzi's accusations are "seriously not factual." He demanded a public apology and the deletion of the online posts, as well as $95,000 in compensation. On Sept. 25, Xianzi filed a countersuit against Zhu; she is now set to become one of the first people in China's #MeToo movement to confront their alleged perpetrator in court.

Xianzi's social-media post is one of many accusations that have been repeatedly deleted. But traces of the stories and debates can still be found online. Some share other women's stories on their own social media, creating a kind of virtual support network to draw more attention to cases. Activists say this decentralized web of volunteers has helped make the movement more resistant to the tide of authoritarianism. "When the authorities know that you are an organizer, they can come to harass you," says Xiao, the activist. "But now everybody is the organizer."

SEO, the South Korean prosecutor, has been on medical leave since January. She's enjoyed spending more time with her 10-year-old son. "Nothing has changed in the prosecutor's office," she says. "I've heard they still think of me as an enemy who disgraced the office."

Seo isn't the only woman in South Korea to face severe backlash. Lee Eun-eui, a lawyer who successfully sued her employer, Samsung, in a landmark sexual-harassment lawsuit back in 2008, says 80% of her clients are claiming cases relating to workplace discrimination and harassment. Many end up denounced as "gold diggers," receiving a torrent of online abuse and even being countersued by alleged perpetrators of harassment or assault. "Who would have the courage to speak out?" she asks, sipping iced tea after a long day in a Seoul courtroom.

South Koreans may not face the kind of restrictive censorship coming from the government in China, but publicly supporting feminist causes can still be dangerous. Some women wear masks at rallies, wary of having their personal details leaked to the public. They fear being fired, stalked or even attacked with acid. The Inconvenient Courage group that organizes rallies in Seoul also chooses to remain anonymous. The group focuses on fighting the country's spy-cam porn epidemic, the well-documented problem of hidden cameras in Korea's public toilets and changing rooms. That secretly captured footage often makes its way to online pornography websites—leading to more than 6,400 cases reported in 2017.

Clad in masks or not, women are protesting in unprecedented numbers. In August, more than 40,000 women attended a rally against spy-cam porn; later that month, 20,000 took to the streets of the capital after a top politician was acquitted on rape charges. "This is a battle that we can't retreat from," says Ko, president of Korea Women's Hotline.

Despite the backlash, glimmers of institutional change are also appearing. South Korean President Moon Jae-in is calling for tougher punishments on spy-cam perpetrators, and Seoul's government is launching a cleanup campaign to rid the city's public toilets of hidden cameras. In August, China announced a plan for legislation that would define and target sexual harassment in workplaces, and Japan's Labor Policy Council recently held discussions to address the same issue. Meanwhile, one year after the Harvey Weinstein allegations exploded, a #MeToo reckoning kicked off in India's media and entertainment industries in early October—leading to public apologies, the resignation of high-profile figures and the closure of a Bollywood production house after its co-founder was accused of sexual assault.

It's still tough to predict what the movements in Asia might achieve in terms of legislative change. But in South Korea and China, the culture of activism remains particularly strong. "I think I truly feel the meaning of #MeToo," the survivor in Hangzhou tells TIME. "It connects every individual who had harm done to them and makes them no longer feel like they are isolated or helpless."

And in South Korea, Seo's testimony has exposed the pervasiveness of sexual harassment. In a society where prosecutor is one of the most prestigious jobs, many were shocked to see that even powerful women like Seo were vulnerable to sexual harassment. "She really shook the stereotype of sexual-violence victims," says Bae Eun-kyung, professor of gender studies at Seoul National University.

Across the region, as women turn their anger into action, they are determined to change how survivors of abuse are perceived. "South Korea has a culture of demanding that victims act like victims: they should always be in pain, and cry, and cannot be happy," Seo says. "I want to show the image of the survivor as happy and confident." —*With reporting by* JINYOUNG PARK/SEOUL

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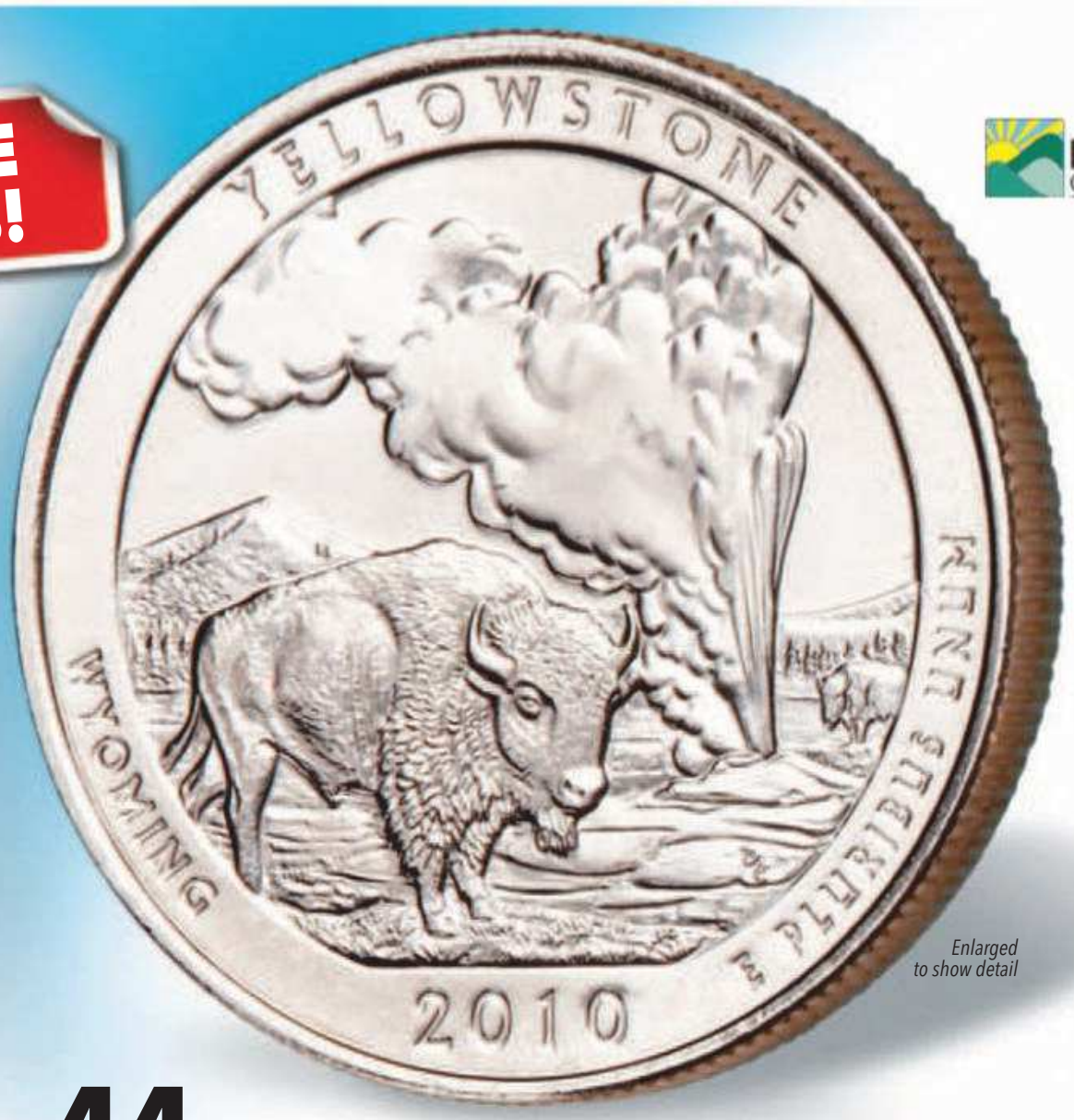

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TimeOff

CRIMINAL MIND Melissa McCarthy stars as author turned forger Lee Israel in *Can You Ever Forgive Me?*

INSIDE

STREAMING SERVICES OFFER SPOOKY SHOWS JUST IN TIME FOR HALLOWEEN

PAUL DANO TURNS A LENS ON A FAMILY IN COLLAPSE IN HIS DIRECTORIAL DEBUT

KIESE LAYMON EXPERTLY BLENDS MEMOIR AND CRITICISM IN HIS BLISTERING NEW BOOK

MOVIES

Melissa McCarthy finds the heart of a notorious criminal

By Judy Berman

Lee (McCarthy) and Jack (Grant) bond over a stiff drink—or 10

LEE ISRAEL WAS AN EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFIcult woman to like, but Melissa McCarthy loved her instantly. Not that they ever actually met; Israel, an author and literary forger, died in 2014. But McCarthy fell hard for the quintessential New Yorker depicted—in all her desperate, curmudgeonly glory—in filmmaker Nicole Holofcener's script for the big-screen adaptation of Israel's memoir *Can You Ever Forgive Me?*

"I was shocked that I so quickly cared about her, although I didn't have a real reason to," McCarthy says between sips of a latte on a brisk autumn day in Manhattan. Even her friends knew Israel as a bitter woman with a drinking problem—and that was before she turned to crime. Her early successes, with in-depth biographies of women like Estée Lauder and Tallulah Bankhead, had given way to poverty and isolation by the early 1990s. "I wasn't sure why her actions weren't matching up to how I felt about her, which really intrigued me," McCarthy says. She became obsessed with Israel's story, even though the script wasn't intended for her: it was sent, instead, to her husband and frequent collaborator Ben Falcone, who has a small role as a bookstore owner.

It's certainly the kind of tale that can suck you in: the film recounts the rise and fall of Israel's career fabricating letters from famous wits of eras past, which she turned to after her efforts to hold down a straight job failed. But its emotional core is the fragile friendship that develops between Lee and her hedonistic, similarly destitute accomplice, Jack Hock (an elegantly declining Richard E. Grant). Two lonely, middle-aged, queer misfits who squandered their youthful potential and now have to hustle to survive, they speak each other's language—especially after a few drinks at their favorite gay bar.

But an early incarnation of the project, with Holofcener slated to direct and Julianne Moore attached to play Israel, stalled out. Worried that the movie would never get made, McCarthy finally expressed her interest: "I said, 'I feel like I have a very strong connection to Lee, and I think about her a lot. So I'm going to throw my name in.'" With the addition of director Marielle Heller, whose excellent 2015 debut, *The Diary of a Teenage Girl,* was a coming-of-age film about another complicated female protagonist, Israel's story was saved.

MCCARTHY ISN'T EXACTLY KNOWN for playing gloomy (or, for that matter, literary) types. Though she got her first big break in 2000, nabbing the role of the lovably neurotic chef Sookie St. James on *Gilmore Girls,* it was more than a decade later that her Oscar-nominated performance in 2011's *Bridesmaids* made her a household name. Since then, McCarthy's boisterous characters and flair for physical comedy have made her not only one of Hollywood's most bankable stars but also one of its highest-paid women. Writing many of her most successful, if not necessarily best-received, projects—*Tammy, The Boss,* this year's *Life of the Party*—alongside Falcone, who also directed those movies, has allowed her far greater control of her image than most actresses ever enjoy.

Yet it's hard, even sitting with her, to pin down McCarthy's personality. It's clear that she's a consummate family woman; an unmistakable fondness creeps into her voice when she talks about Falcone and their daughters, 11-year-old Vivian and 8-year-old Georgette. In conversation, she's warm and thoughtful but measured. Scrupulously charitable in her comments about others, she has even been known to extend sympathy to critics who've insulted her appearance, diagnosing them as unhappy. "We all do some weird thing to make us feel more secure," she says. "And I don't think it's usually in our best interest."

PREVIOUS PAGE, THESE PAGES: MARY CYBULSKI—20TH CENTURY FOX (2)

Though she's embraced her role as one of Hollywood's few avatars for plus-size women, which has sometimes forced her to absorb our culture's ugliest anxieties about women's bodies, McCarthy is not an activist in the traditional sense. And that's probably prudent, considering that she's also the rare celebrity whose appeal transcends partisan political lines, with as many fans in red states as blue. When asked a mild question about her habit of choosing projects, including *Can You Ever Forgive Me?,* where women wield power behind the camera, she answers carefully: "I think it rights the balance," she says. "If you only tell [a story] from one perspective, if nothing else, it gets boring. I wouldn't want it to be all and only women. And I certainly don't love it when it's 98% men."

As McCarthy frames it, she'd rather cede the spotlight to her characters than be an outspoken figure in her own right. "I never think of myself as public," she says. "I've always just been like, 'I'm a character actress.'" By inhabiting a character, McCarthy says, "I can put a veil of someone else in front of me, and I can make very distinct decisions through them."

In fact, that impulse to disappear into the lives of people very different from herself is something she does share with Lee Israel. "It would be so incredibly awkward to have someone say, 'Just play it exactly how you would in your own house.' It would rattle me with insecurities," she says. Similarly, when Israel was writing a biography, she could hide behind her subject; she "could be witty and smart and engaging and all the things she couldn't be person to person." But when Israel was drafting her memoir, McCarthy notes, it pained the author to write about herself. "I thought, It's funny; we both live through other people and feel more comfortable doing that."

CAN YOU EVER FORGIVE ME? has, inevitably, been framed as a new direction for McCarthy. Instead of a madcap caper, it's a talky, often melancholy indie whose chances of approaching *The Heat*'s roughly $160 million box-office take seem unlikely. Her Lee is an offbeat personality but not a larger-than-life one. McCarthy underplays in many scenes with Grant, letting his theatrical Jack take center stage; it's a generous choice from an actor with such a powerful presence. And her humanistic read on Lee suffuses the character with tenderness, in a performance that is more captivating in quietly devastating scenes than it is in the film's darkly humorous moments. By making Lee as multidimensional as any misbehaving male author might be, McCarthy pre-empts yet another round of debate on "unlikable" heroines. The Oscar buzz for McCarthy's performance, which has already escalated to a roar, is well deserved.

Yet there's always been more nuance to her performances than her critics tend to acknowledge. On *Gilmore Girls,* she tempered Sookie's manic perfectionism with sweetness. The best comedy she's fronted, Paul Feig's 2015 movie *Spy,* cast her not as a zany wild card but as a hypercompetent CIA office drone yearning to prove her mettle in the field. Even her swaggering *Bridesmaids* character ultimately shows some self-awareness. "So often people present themselves in a way that is not really, truly who the heart of that person is," McCarthy says. "That's the main thing that always intrigues me." From that perspective, it doesn't seem crazy that she doesn't think of Lee as a dramatic departure from her past roles.

The film's '90s New York City setting is also familiar territory for 48-year-old McCarthy, who moved to the city on a whim at 20 and, despite intending to study fashion design, quickly found her calling in the local stand-up scene. Her first apartment was a fourth-floor walk-up in Hell's Kitchen, where, she remembers, she and her roommates "slept on the floor on a futon and had mice who ate through tin cans—which is terrifying when you think about how strong their teeth and jaws must have been." She admits to harboring some nostalgia for those days: "I found the not so cleaned-up, shiny and pretty New York pretty romantic." The best thing about those years, McCarthy says, was that "you could still be surrounded by all these people working three or four jobs at a time, but everyone was really trying. And you could still struggle and get somewhere."

'We all do some weird thing to make us feel more secure. And I don't think it's usually in our best interest.'

MELISSA MCCARTHY

Can You Ever Forgive Me? can be viewed as a requiem for that transitional decade, when Manhattan was safer than it had been in the '70s but hadn't become the sanitized bubble it is now. For McCarthy, Lee represents a time when rent was cheap, the publishing industry didn't have to rely so heavily on celebrity authors and an artist's work could speak for itself. There's dignity, she notes, in this aversion to self-promotion: "Why can't the writing be enough?" she imagines Israel demanding. "Why do I have to sing and dance as I present it?" McCarthy herself might be interested in these questions, so relevant to a figure of her stature in our fame-obsessed present, when stars are expected to keep the song and dance going even after the curtain falls. But she's much too polite to say so. ☐

TELEVISION

Halloween means streaming treats—but it's a mixed bag

By Judy Berman

AS DRUGSTORE CANDY DISPLAYS HAVE BEEN reminding us since August, Halloween is fast approaching—and, as always, TV is on it. Family sitcoms are going wild with topical costumes. The Food Network has draped itself in spun-sugar cobwebs. Freeform is wall-to-wall hocus pocus. But you needn't be privy to Netflix's closely guarded audience data to understand why the holiday has a unique appeal for streaming platforms: suspenseful shows are ideal for binge watching, and the cost-effective horror genre is a safe investment for sites stockpiling original content.

One reason horror can be so cheap is that it doesn't have to be good to be entertaining. In lieu of adequate writing, acting and production values, gory set pieces will usually do. Unfortunately, Hulu is banking on that low barrier to entry this year, with schlocky Halloween titles that aren't even fun. On Oct. 5 it launched *Into the Dark,* a monthly anthology, courtesy of the horror-hit factory Blumhouse, with feature-length installments tied to holidays. The series naturally begins with a Halloween episode: "The Body." The bloody tale of a hit man at a costume party is based on a short—and it shows in a plot stretched too thin over 90 minutes and stock horror characters whose vapidity defies belief. (The listless performances don't help.) Equally dull is Hulu's half-hour *Pretty Little Liars* knockoff, *Light as a Feather,* about four high school friends and the creepy new girl who knows how they'll die.

THE HAUNTING OF HILL HOUSE
Netflix reimagines Shirley Jackson's classic novel in an emotional horror story that uses a haunted house as a metaphor for mourning.

INTO THE DARK
Horror juggernaut Blumhouse teams up with Hulu on a holiday-themed monthly anthology that kicks off with a lackluster Halloween episode.

From Mad Men *to good witch: Shipka stars in* Sabrina

NETFLIX MAY BE the platform taking fullest advantage of the holiday. As is its custom, the streaming monolith has churned out seasonal content for every type of viewer—true-crime addicts *(Making a Murderer),* kids *(Creeped Out, Super Monsters),* home cooks *(The Curious Creations of Christine McConnell)*—plus a mess of original fright flicks. But it has also invested in a pair of quality dramas: *The Haunting of Hill House* and *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina.*

Debuting on Oct. 12, the 10-episode *Hill House,* from horror master Mike Flanagan *(Oculus),* reframes the Shirley Jackson novel as the story of five adult siblings whose fates have been shaped by their family's traumatic stay in the haunted home when they were kids. Between effective jump-scares, a cast led by the great TV actors Michiel Huisman *(Game of Thrones)* and Elizabeth Reaser *(True Detective)* breathes life into an allegory for collective mourning.

But it's *Sabrina,* a dark coming-of-age drama from *Riverdale*'s corner of the Archie Comics universe that drops on Oct. 26, that's the best show of the bunch. Forget Melissa Joan Hart's saccharine teen witch; as played by the steely Kiernan Shipka (*Mad Men*'s Sally Draper), Sabrina Spellman could be Buffy the vampire slayer's sardonic, supernaturally powerful cousin. This Sabrina has substance, too: pressured by her aunts to sign over her soul to Satan, the half-witch heroine must consider her own spiritual beliefs. Allusions to infamous heretics like Aleister Crowley and Faust only lightly obscure a portrait of a young woman wrestling with universal questions of faith.

Horror merely needs to exist to draw a Halloween crowd, so it's easy to imagine plenty of viewers pressing play on both Hulu and Netflix before October is over. The trouble is, the streaming business thrives not on ratings for individual episodes but on attracting and retaining subscribers. Among this year's offerings, only *Sabrina* and *Hill House* seem capable of luring in new viewers—even after the candy displays give way to shelves sparkling with tinsel. ◻

MOVIES

In film and in life, Paul Dano turns family man

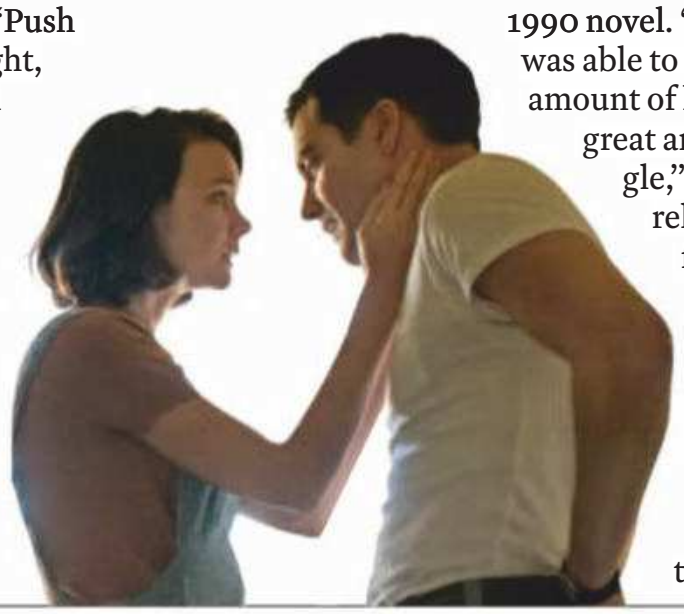
By Lucy Feldman

After acting since childhood, Dano directs for the first time in Wildlife

PAUL DANO IS HIDING HIS HAIR UNDER a trucker hat and carrying a few days' stubble. Six weeks ago exactly, his partner, actor Zoe Kazan, gave birth to their first child. "I'd be lying if I said I wasn't super tired," he says, walking into Central Park on a recent sunny morning in New York City. "But it's heart expanding."

After taking a monthlong break to focus on the baby, Dano is promoting another manner of child: his directorial debut, the moody, beautifully shot period drama *Wildlife* (out Oct. 19), which he wrote and produced with Kazan. It's a film about family dysfunction, based on Richard Ford's novel of the same name, which unfolds against rural sunsets and forest fires in 1960s Montana. The Brinsons are new to their small town, and struggling. Jerry (Jake Gyllenhaal), a husband and father, reels after losing his job. When he runs away from his problems to fight fires outside town, his wife Jeanette (Carey Mulligan) implodes and sparks a new romance. They unravel through the eyes of their son Joe (Ed Oxenbould), who is horrified to discover his parents' fallibility. Oxenbould, 15 during filming, captures Joe's anguish with the skill of an adult—a great surprise for Dano. "Directing is kind of like parenting—you just try to get the best out of everybody," he says. "Push them a little left or right, and catch them when they fall."

Dano himself started acting so early he remembers agonizing over finding time to travel with his basketball team while also performing in *A Christmas Carol* at Madison Square Garden. Now 34, he has proven himself across genres—playing bookish types in *Little Miss Sunshine* and *The Girl Next Door,* artists in *Love & Mercy* and *Youth,* and a maniacal preacher in *There Will Be Blood.* (His IMDB page says his trademark is getting beaten up. He doesn't agree but thinks that's funny.) He'll return to Broadway this winter in *True West.* And he plays a real-life prison escapee in the upcoming Showtime series *Escape at Dannemora.*



Mulligan and Gyllenhaal star as parents who set their marriage ablaze

BUT DANO ALWAYS wanted to work behind the camera. He tried to come up with a story, but nothing stuck. Then in 2011, he read Ford's 1990 novel. "Ford somehow was able to capture a great amount of love with a great amount of struggle," Dano says. He relates to Joe's feeling of fighting to steady a rocking boat. "The idea of trying to hold things together, to not let things tip in the wrong direction, felt true to who I am."

Dano obsessed for a year before reaching out to Ford to option the film rights with Kazan in 2012, and wrote the first draft himself, adapting its deeply internal story as best he could. He handed it to Kazan, an experienced screenwriter. She tore it apart. The couple spent years passing drafts back and forth between jobs before settling on the final version.

Joe is 14 in the movie—the age when Dano himself moved with his own family. "When you move to a new place, your family is your life—it's all you have," he says. His was always close, once sharing a single bedroom between his parents, sister and himself. "There's a great quote," Dano says, tossing a stray volleyball back to its owners. "About how right outside the doors of home is the edge of the world."

For now, Dano is happy to keep his focus inside. He's up with Kazan for every feeding at night. He's figuring out how to help their daughter become a critical thinker. Maybe he'll get married. Dano and Kazan have been together for a decade, and he says calling her his girlfriend now feels "insufficient." He'll throw himself into his next role soon. "But right now," he says, "I have to learn how to be a parent." ◻

INTO THE DARK: HULU; CHILLING ADVENTURES OF SABRINA, THE HAUNTING OF HILL HOUSE: NETFLIX; WILDLIFE: IFC FILMS (2)

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'I wanted to write a lie. You wanted to read a lie. I wrote this to you instead because I am your child, and you are mine.'

KIESE LAYMON

MEMOIR

Carrying love's *Heavy* weight

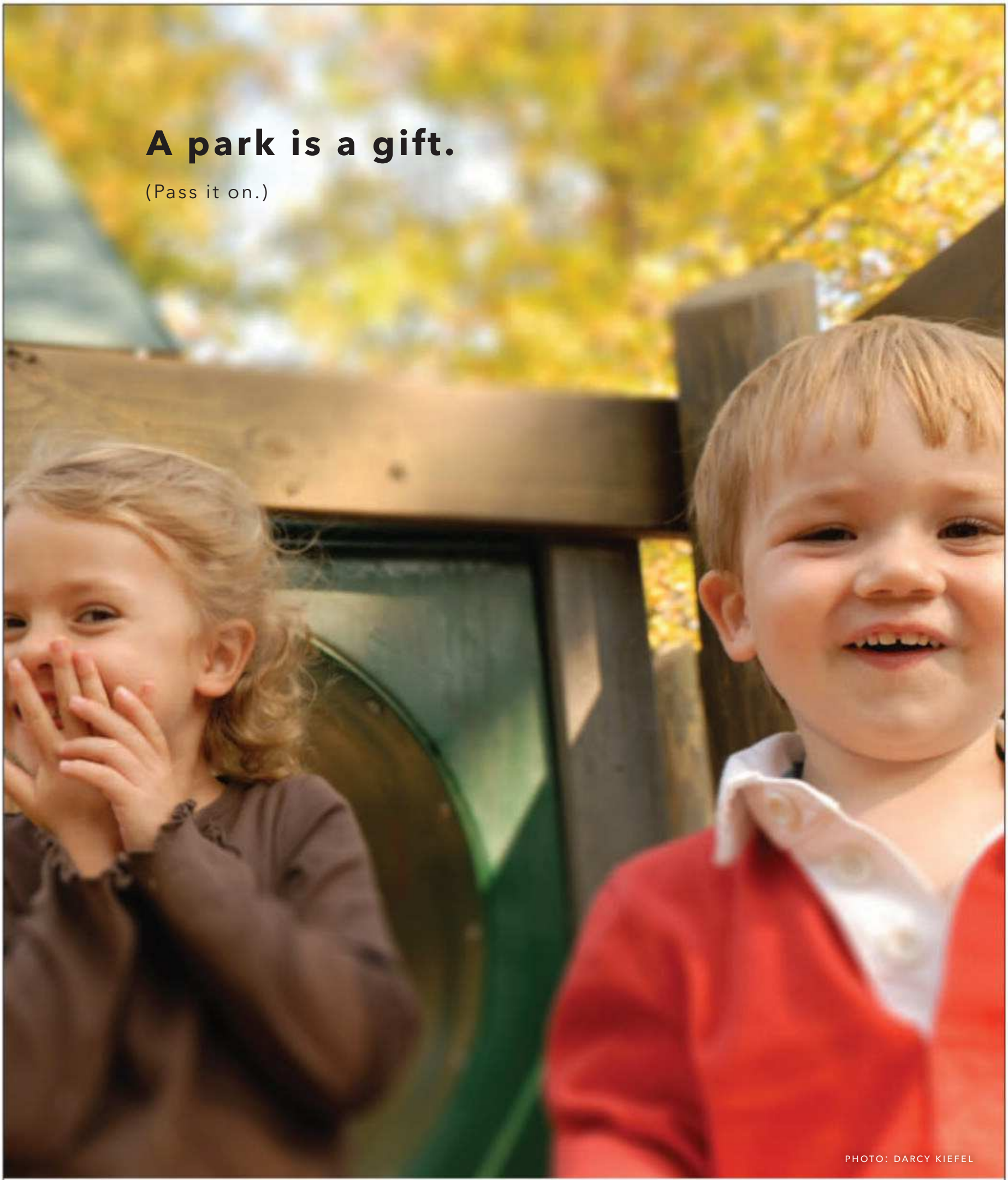
HOW DO YOU LOVE AUTHENTICALLY WHEN LIES FEEL SO FAMILIAR? That's the question Kiese Laymon explores in his devastating personal story, *Heavy: An American Memoir.*

Laymon begins the book with an earnest missive to his mother, a professor who raised him with the help of Laymon's beloved grandmother. "I did not want to write about us," he writes of his relationship with his mother. "I wanted to write a lie." From there he delves headfirst into an unflinching examination of the complex relationship they shared as he came of age as a black man in 1980s and '90s Mississippi.

Laymon grew up in a household that nurtured his intellect and creativity. His childhood, however, was haunted by poverty and violence. Books were readily available, but his mother bounced checks at the local grocery store; his home life included writing exercises and whippings in equal measure. Throughout, Laymon lays bare the many secrets mother and son kept from each other in their home: addictions, sexual violence, physical abuse, eating disorders, theft, lies and shame. As he recounts this, he holds the culture of the U.S. accountable for its role in creating and fueling the racial violence and toxic masculinity that shaped the struggles of both of them, making it so difficult for them to give and receive love in a trusting and trustworthy way.

This deeply personal exploration of the political is nothing new to Laymon, a professor of English and creative writing at the University of Mississippi, who previously published a novel, *Long Division,* and a collection of essays, *How to Slowly Kill Yourself and Others in America.* In *Heavy,* he writes with a fearless intimacy and bracing honesty, indicting the treatment of black people in the U.S. The book's a high-water mark for both personal narrative and social criticism.

—CADY LANG



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9 Questions

Joseph J. Ellis The best-selling historian on what the Founders got wrong, restoring faith in government and the case for national service

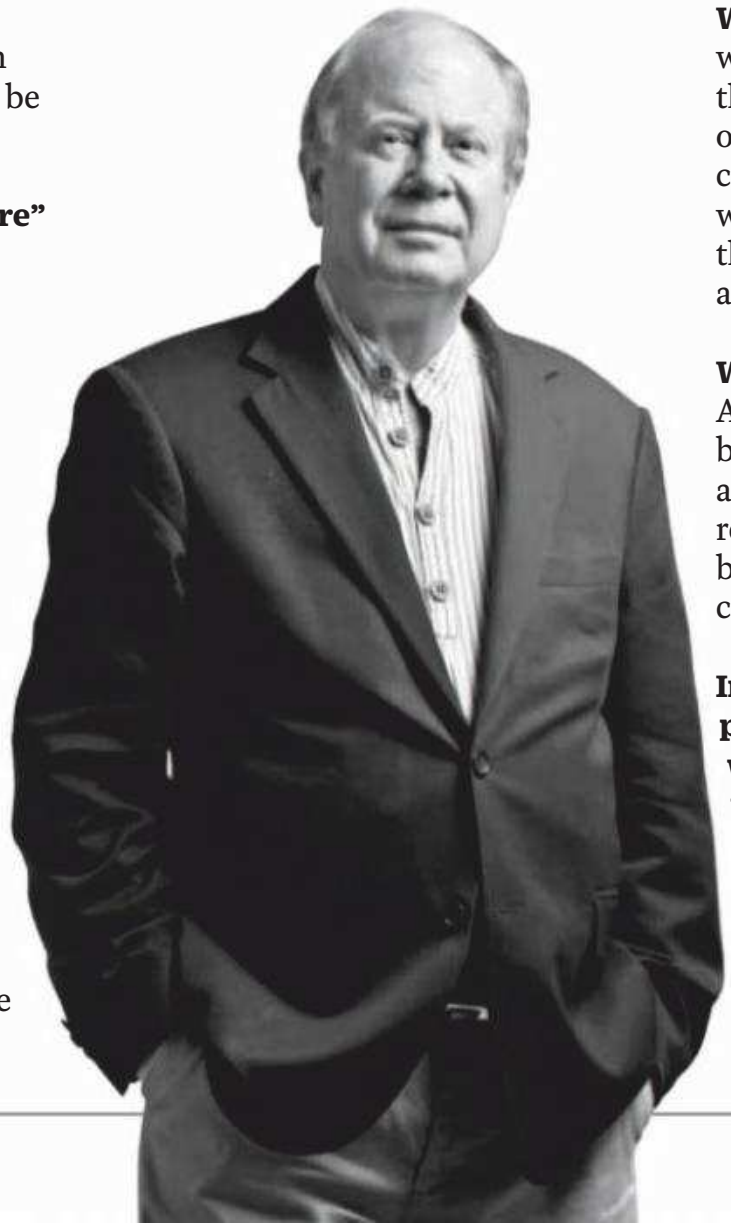
***American Dialogue* examines what George Washington, John Adams, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson might think about issues dividing the country today. Why did you address the present in this book?**
I began work on this book two years before Donald Trump was elected President. But the forces that produced Trump, our deeply divided society unsure of its future and deeply distrustful of government, were already visible.

Do you feel like you have some answers now?
Historians are really great at predicting the past. But the future is for prophets, and the track record of most prophets is dismal. Globalization, the Internet, the sheer size of American society presents unprecedented problems. Until we recover some sense of the American dialogue—and we need to recover government as us rather than government as them—we're going to be paralyzed in this second Gilded Age.

Will the "better angels of our nature" save us?
My view of history is that trusting in the better angels of our nature is a bad bet. The Founders didn't believe in the better angels. They created a Constitution, which was designed to deal with imperfect human beings.

America has always had people who vehemently disagree. Are we that different now compared with in Jefferson's time?
It's a size problem. There's a difference between 4 million people gathered on the Atlantic Coast and 325 million people across the nation. The single most important difference is that we are attempting to do something that nobody has ever done before: create a fully and genuinely multiracial society in a huge nation.

"MY VIEW OF HISTORY IS THAT TRUSTING IN THE BETTER ANGELS OF OUR NATURE IS A BAD BET"



What is the biggest failing of the Founders that still haunts us today?
When the Founders talked about "we the people," they were not talking about black people. They weren't talking about women, and they weren't talking about Native Americans. Whenever race enters the question, the Founders are going to end up disappointing you.

Can the constitutional system they created solve our problems?
The Founders would want us to recognize that it's a living Constitution. So the originalists who want us to go back to the original meaning have it dead wrong. We have to make adaptations. The Electoral College has got to go.

In the early 1960s, nearly 80% of Americans said they trusted their government. By the mid-1970s, that number had dropped to around 20%, and it's never completely recovered. What happened? The Vietnam War, which undermined the credibility of the government for a whole generation of Americans. The second thing was the civil rights movement. That alienated whites in the Confederacy. The third thing was *Roe v. Wade*. That alienates all the evangelicals.

What will finally unite Americans?
A great crisis that leaves us no choice but to come together. When the coastal areas have to be evacuated, when the real implications of climate change begin to hit, we're going to be forced to come together.

In their best moments, the Founders put the public good ahead of the whims of public opinion. Is there any way to recover that sense of virtue?
I would favor mandatory national service. Now, of course, that has no chance. But every American woman and man should serve the public for two years. It doesn't mean military, but it means some form of service.

—LUCAS WITTMANN

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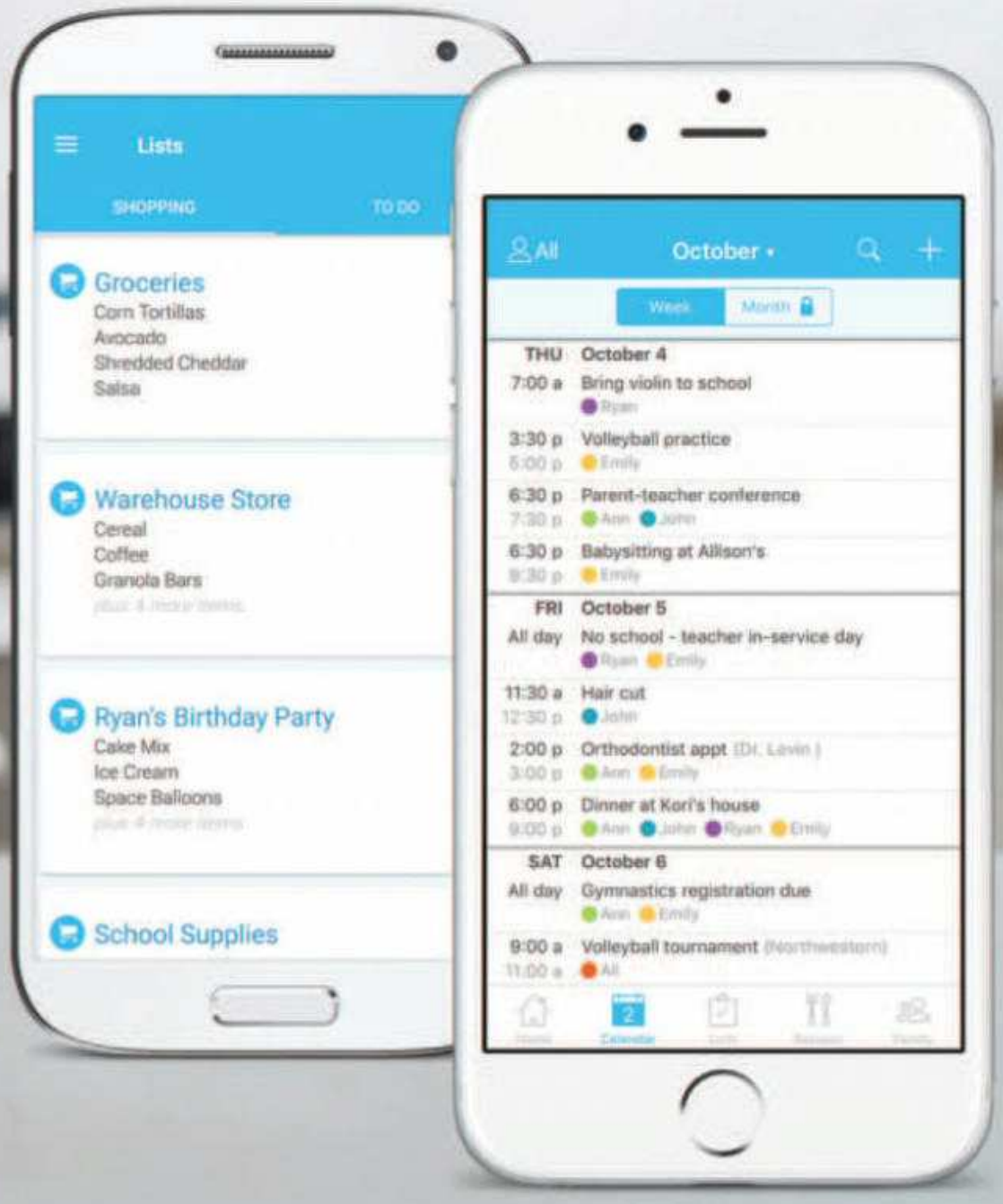

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